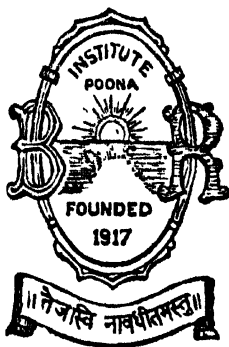


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CONTENTS
VOLUME XXIX, PARTS I-IV
(28-12-1949)

ARTICLES	PAGES
Traces of short Ē and Ō in R̥gveda by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph.D. ...	1-20
Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law :	
14. Legal Position of Physicians in Ancient India by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach ...	21-42
Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics—some references to the use of Fried Grains in Indian Diet—between B. C. 500 and A. D. 1900 by Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A. ...	43-63
The Revelatory Character of Hindu Epistemology by D. K. Bedekar ...	64-84
The movements of the Pāṇḍavas by Prof. V. B. Athavale, M.A. ...	85-98
Some notes on the History of the Almond (Badām) in India—between C. A. D. 100 and 1900 by Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A. ...	99-106
The Text-problem of the Baudhāyana Ādhāna Sūtra by C. G. Kashikar M.A. (Tilak) ...	107-117
Parvata in R̥gveda by B. R. Sharma ...	118-122
Regional Divisions of Ancient India by Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. ...	123-146
Reduplicative in Apabhraṃśa, by Dr. G. V. Tagare, M.A., Ph.D. ...	147-151
The Imagery of R̥gveda by Prof. P. S. Sastri, M.A., M.Litt. ...	152-196

Views of Jaimini and Śābara on Language by Dr. G. V. Devasthali, M.A., Ph.D.	... 197-212
The Image of Nārāyaṇa by Dr. L. B. Keny, Ph.D.	... 213-226
Vedic Gods - V - Rudra/Kālī by Hiralal Amritlal Shah, B.A.	... 227-270
Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture by D. D. Kosambi	... 271-277
MISCELLANEA	
The Genesis of the Roots ' Rabh ' ' Labh ' and ' Lab ' by Prof. K. M. Shembavnekar, M.A.	... 278-282
Kampeshwar same as Kapeswar by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.	... 283-286
Lord Kṛṣṇa of Four Bhujas? by S. N. Tadpatrikar, M.A.	... 287-290
A Note on ' A Unique VI(th) century inscribed Sati Stele ' by S. K. Dikshit, M.A.	... 291-292
The Origin and Function of the State according to the Rājadharmaparvan by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.	... 293-301
REVIEWS	
The Bhīṣmaparvan edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., reviewed by Vittore Pisani	... 302-309
R̥gveda Samhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, Vols. III & IV (Maṇḍalas VI to X), reviewed by H. G. Narahari, M.A.	310-311
A short survey into (?) the Music of North and South India, by S. R. Kuppuswami, B.A., M.Mus., reviewed by Prof. G. H. Ranade, M.A.	... 312-313
Todarānanda Vol. I, Edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt., reviewed by Dr. N. J. Shende, M.A., Ph.D.	... 313-314

- (1) पुणे नगर वाचन मंदिराचा " शंभर वर्षांचा इतिहास " (१८४८-१९४८) by G. N. Shrigondekar, B.A.;
 (2) Vaikhānasya Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa edited by Pandit R. P. Bhattachar; (3) Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Vol. VI); reviewed by Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A. ... 315-319
- The All India Ayurvedic Directory (fifth edition)
 Edited by N. S. Mooss, reviewed by Dr. P. M. Mehta, M.D., M.S. ... 320
- (1) Cultural History of Karnataka by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, M.A., Ph.D.; (2) Origin and spread of the Tamils by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.; (3) The Cradle of Indian History, Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu : (4) Further sources of Vijayanagara History edited by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. N. Venkātaramanayya; (5) A new History of the Indian People, Vol. VI, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar; reviewed by Prof. G. S. Dikshit, M.A. ... 321-327
- Three Dramas of Bhāsa (Mahākavi Bhāsa Ke Tīna Nāṭaka) by Prof. S. R. Sehgal, reviewed by Dr. A. D. Pusalker, M.A., Ph.D. ... 327
- Aryavidhanam Vols. I and II, by Mm. Vishvanath Reu, reviewed by Pandit Raghunatha Shastri Kokaje. ... 328
- (1) Sphoṭavāda of Nāgēsabhaṭṭa Edited by V. Krishnamacharya; (2) Jivānandam of Ānandarāya Makhin edited by Pandit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar; (3) India in Kālidāsa by Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya; (4) A hand-book of classical Sanskrit literature by U. Venkata Krishna Rao, M.A., reviewed by Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M.A. ... 329-332

Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā with Sarvatobhadra edited by T. R. Chintamani, reviewed by S. N. Tadpatri- kar, M.A.	... 333-335
Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa by C. Sivarama- murti, M.A., reviewed by Prof. R. N. Gaidhani, M.A.	... 336
The Twenty-First International Congress of Orientalists, Paris 23rd to 31st of July 1948 by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.	... i-xxvi

INDEX TO AUTHORS

VOLUME XXIX

(28-12-1949)

ARTICLES	PAGES
Prof. Y. B. Athavale, M.A.	
The movements of the Pāṇḍavas	... 85-98
D. K. Bedekar	
The Revelatory Character of Hindu Epi- stemology	... 64-84
Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D.	
Regional Divisions of Ancient India	... 123-146
Dr. G. V. Devasthali, M.A., Ph.D.	
Views of Jaimini and Śābara on Language	... 197-212
Dr. A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph.D.	
Traces of short Ē and Ō in Rgveda	...
Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A.	
(i) Studies in the History of Indian Dietetics— some references to the use of Fried Grains in Indian Diet—between B. C. 500 and A. D. 1900	... 43-63
(ii) Some notes on the History of the Almond (Badām) in India—between C. A. D. 100 and 1900	... 99-106
C. G. Kashikar, M.A. (Tilak)	
The Text-problem of the Baudhāyana Ādhāna Sūtra	... 107-117
Dr. L. B. Keny, Ph.D.	
The Image of Nārāyaṇa	... 213-226
D. D. Kosambi	
Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture	... 271-277

Prof. P. S. Sastri, M.A., M.Litt.	
The Imagery of R̥gveda	... 152-196
Hiralal Amritlal Shah, B.A.	
Vedic Gods - V - Rudra/Kālī	... 227-270
B. R. Sharma	
Parvata in R̥gveda	118-122
Dr. Ludwik Sternbach	
Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law .	
14. Legal Position of Physicians in Ancient	
India	... 21-42
Dr. G. V. Tagare, M.A., Ph.D.	
Reduplicative in Aṣṭaśāstra	... 147-151

MISCELLANEA

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.	
The Origin and Function of the State according	
to the Rājadharmaparvan	... 293-301
Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.	
Kampeshwar same as Kapeswar	... 283-286
S. K. Dikshit, M.A.	
A note on ' A Unique VI (th) century inscribed	
Śatī Stelē '	... 291-292
Prof. K. M. Shembavnekar, M.A.	
The Genesis of the Roots ' Rābh ' ' Labh ' and	
' Lab '	... 278-282
S. N. Tadpatrikar, M.A.	
Lord Kṛṣṇa of Four Bhujas ?	... 287-290

REVIEWS

Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M.A.	
(1) Sphoṭavāda of Nāgēśabhaṭṭa Edited by V.	
Kṛṣṇnamacharya ; (2) Jivānandam of	
Ānandarāya Makhin edited by Pandit M.	
Duraiśwami Aiyangar ; (3) India in	
Kālidāsa by Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya ;	
(4) A hand-book of classical Sanskrit	
literature by U. Vankata Krishna	
Rao, M.A.	... 329-332

Prof. G. S. Dikshit, M.A.

- (1) **Cultural History of Karnataka** by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, M.A., Ph.D. ; (2) **Origin and spread of the Tamils** by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A. ; (3) **The Cradle of Indian History**, Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu ; (4) **Further sources of Vijayanagara History** edited by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya ; (5) **A new History of the Indian People, Vol. VI**, edited by Dr. R. C. Mujumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar ... 321-327

Prof. R. N. Gaidhani, M.A.

- Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa** by C. Sivaramamurti, M.A. ... 336

Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A.

- (1) **पूर्व नगर वाचन मंदिराचा "शंभर वर्षांचा इतिहास"** (१८४८-१९४८) by G. N. Shrigondekar, B.A. ; (2) **Vaikhānasya Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa** edited by Pandit R. P. Bhattachar ; (3) **Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Adyar Library (Vol. VI)** ... 315-319

Pandit Raghunatha Shastri Kokuje

- Aryavidhanam Vols. I and II** by Mm. Vishvanath Reu ... 328

Dr. P. M. Mehta, M.D., M.S.

- The All India Āyurvedic Directory (fifth edition)**
 Edited by N. S. Mooss ... 320

H. G. Narahari, M.A.

- Rgveda Samhitā with the commentary of Śāyana-ācārya, Vols. III & IV (Maṇḍalas VI to X)** ... 310-311

Vittore Pisani

- The Bhīṣmaparvan** edited by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D. ... 302-309

Dr. A. D. Pusalker, M.A., Ph.D.

Three Dramas of Bhāsa (Mahākavi Bhāsa Ke
Tina Nāṭaka) by Prof. S. R. Sehgal ... 327

Prof. G. H. Ranade, M.A.

A short survey into (?) the Music of North and
South India, by S. R. Kuppuswami, ' ... 312-313
B.A., M. Mus. ... 312-313

Dr. N. J. Shende, M.A., Ph.D.

Toḍarānanda Vol. I Edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya,
M.A., Ph.D. ... 313-314

S. N. Tadpatrikar, M.A.

Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā with Sarvatobhadra edited
by T. R. Chintamani ... 333-335

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.

The Twenty-First International Congress of
Orientalist, Paris 23rd to 31st of July 1948 ... i-xxvi

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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[PARTS I-IV

TRACES OF SHORT Ē AND Ō IN RĠVEDA

BY

A. M. GHATAGE

The problem of the short values of Ē and Ō suspected of being found in RV. is intimately connected with that of the *abhinhiṭa* sandhi, and both must be treated together. For a long time, the facts of this sandhi in RV. are well-known, and scholars have come to the conclusion that, in spite of the writing of this sandhi in the traditional text, it was nearly non-existent in the oldest period of the language, and came into vogue only gradually so as to become finally the usual practice in the Classical Sanskrit. The RV. Samhitā reveals an apparently conflicting procedure of sometimes eliding or merging the initial *a* in the preceding *-e* and *-o*, and more often keeping them apart with a hiatus between the two. No general principle for this divergent treatment is easily perceptible and the Rk-Prātisākhya finds it necessary to formulate a few general rules based on empirical observation and then to enumerate exceptions to them as found in the Samhitā. The rules of the Prātisākhya¹ may be summarised in brief. It lays down that the *abhinhiṭa* sandhi is the rule between the Pādas of a stanza, which are treated as forming a unit in the Samhitā. This rule is observed in the traditional text, except for 3 cases, which are duly noted by the Prātisākhya. In the interior of a Pāda,

the sandhi occurs under definite conditions, otherwise absence of sandhi is the usual practice. The sandhi is observed in the following cases: (i) when the initial *a-* is followed by a light syllable beginning with *y-* or *v-*; (ii) when the first word ends in *-āvo* and the following word begins with *a-* followed by any light syllable; (iii) after words ending in *-aye*, *-ave*, *-ayo*, *-avo* with initial *a-* irrespective of the nature of the following syllable (to this rule the Prātiśākhya notes 12 exceptions); (iv) after *vo*, preceded by the words *a*, *na*, *pra*, *kva*, *citra*, *smitā*, *eva* or *ka* and followed by the initial *a-*. After these general rules the Prātiśākhya notes the cases of 16 words, the initial *a-* of which is elided; 10 words after which the *a-* is lost and finally some 62 cases of specific combinations in which *a-* is elided.¹

Modern grammarians have also pointed out the lack of uniformity in the orthoepy of RV. and the predominant absence of this sandhi in the earlier phase of the language. Thus Whitney² has noted that out of 4500 cases in RV. only about 70 show this loss of *a-* actually occurring in the pronunciation, while the writing shows it in three-fourth of the cases. From this he concludes that there is 'no accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and spoken form of the text'. The cases of its real occurrence are more in AV., and the sandhi gains in practice.

Oldenberg³ has discussed the problem in detail and has arrived at some definite conclusions, which are generally accepted by later grammarians. By an analysis of such cases as occur in the second part of the Xth Maṇḍala (from 90 to end), he points out that in 19 cases the traditional text shows the Sandhi correctly, and in 211 cases the textual tradition is equally correct in not showing this sandhi and preserving the hiatus. There is only a single case (X 108. 5) where the sandhi is not shown even when metre demands it, while in 22 cases, the sandhi is written though the initial *a-* must be pronounced, as far as the metrical evidence suggests. From this he concludes that the Vedic tradition of expressing this sandhi is generally correct and is therefore genuine. The cases, where the incorrect writing of the sandhi is found, he explains as due to the working of the

¹ Cf. Max Müller SBE. XXXII pp. xlviii-l.

² Sanskrit Grammar 135. ³ Hymnen des Rgveda: Prolegomena p. 329 foll.

redactors, who were following the rules, which are also stated in the Prātisākhya. These rules like the loss of *a-* when followed by *y-* or *v-* were the guiding principles of the redactors, but of the origin and reasons of these rules, he is sceptical. He frankly states that he has 'not succeeded in explaining the origin of these principles' and he calls them 'principles which are arbitrarily invented'. According to him, some such principles were either current or invented, which were used by the redactors in remodelling the text of the RV., and which were further deduced from it by the Prātisākhya. This explains the remarkable agreement between the text of the RV. and the rules of the Prātisākhya.

Later writers have added little to the conclusions of Oldenberg. Thus Wackernagel¹ states that according to the evidence of metre, the final and initial vowels form two distinct syllables in 99 per cent cases of RV. and in about four-fifth of the cases of AV. and the metrical parts of YV. Sporadic cases occur in the old prose and the verses of the Brahmanic period. He further makes the important observation that the final syllable of the first word is metrically short. Arnold² has pointed out that 'the combination of the two is rare in RV. proper, but is occasionally found in all parts of it; in the popular RV. it is considerably more common.' Moreover, as he finds the loss of *a-* even after the caesura, he thinks that the poets did not regard the loss as equivalent to combination of the syllables. Macdonell³ has simply summarised the statements of Wackernagel, and in his later work *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, has included the short values of ě and ǒ in the list of metrical necessities.⁴ Lastly Bloomfield and Edgerton⁵ have discussed the cases of the *abhinīhita* sandhi, as far as they are revealed in the variants of the Veda. They consider that the redaction of the Vedic texts was carried out when the rule of elision was established in the language. But in view of the metrical necessity of the Veda, the redactors did not elide the *a-* where the pronunciation demanded it. In prose and at the end of a Pāda, the elision was always marked, probably be-

¹ *Altindisch: Grammatik* I. 272b.

² *Vedic Metre* 127.

³ *Vedic Grammar* 72.

⁴ p. 437.

⁵ *Vedic Variants* II. 890-912.

cause no confusion of pronunciation would arise, as *a-* must be read in all these cases. From the consideration of cases in which the writing is consistent with the actual pronunciation and those in which it disagrees, they have found out that the writing¹ is consistent with the actual pronunciation in two-thirds of the examples which proves that 'an attempt was made to conform spelling to original pronunciation of the metrical texts', or more cautiously 'an attempt was made to make the writing conform to certain definite standards, which had some relation to actual pronunciation'.

As regards the actual pronunciation of the final *-e* and *-o* followed by *a-* which remains metrically unelided, there is some amount of vagueness in the current opinion of the Vedic scholars. From the very beginning it has been noted that the final vowels in such cases demand a metrically short value, though the exact sound which they possessed is differently assessed. Bloomfield¹ discussed the value of these *-e* and *-o* before *a-* and gave them the short values of *-ě* and *-ǔ*. His explanation of the fact is based on the supposition that in these particular circumstances, there survived the original short values of *-ě* and *-ǔ*, which normally became *-a* in the Aryan Branch. The original endings *-ēs*, *-ōs* lost their final *-s* before the following vowel, and the new final vowels *-ě* and *-ǔ* had a two-fold development. Before vowels other than *-a* they lost their vowel-quality, but preserved their quantity and became *-a*. When they were followed by *a-* they kept their quality but disregarding their quantity were written as *-ě* and *-ǔ*; for the Indian alphabet had no signs for short *-ě* and *-ǔ*. These sounds later attracted others, which were really long *ē* and *ō* as¹ coming from *a+i* and *a+u*, to themselves, first before the following *a-* and then before other vowels as well. Finally the original *e* was absorbed by the more frequent *o* and there remained three vowels *o* (out of *-ēs*, *-ōs*) *o* and *e* (of original diphthongal nature) all written as long but pronounced short before *a-*.

Oldenberg has advanced very cogent arguments to reject this suggestion of Bloomfield. He points out that besides the improbability of preserving the original short values of *-ě* and *-ǔ* in such circumstances, the theory makes too great a use of graphic

¹ JAP. III.

confusion at this early period of language to make it probable. After a close examination of the facts of the case, he himself has arrived at a different conclusion. He starts with the undoubted supposition that the metrical value of the final $-e$ and $-o$ in all such cases, is short, and proceeds to point out that in case of original long \bar{e} , \bar{o} the sandhi was $a-y$, $a-v$ before vowels other than a , and as in the case of the long diphthongs, the hiatus was left after the loss of the final y , v . Nothing is more natural than to suppose that the same sandhi was originally observed even before a —thus giving rise to $-a a-$ and $-a a-$ and later on for $-o$ (from $-as$) $a-$ to $-as a-$ as well. This will explain the short value of the final syllable in all cases where both syllables are kept apart. Now remains the question of explaining the use of \bar{e} and \bar{o} in place of $-ay$, $-av$ and $-as$, when they are followed by a —but not when other vowels follow. Here Oldenberg's argument gets a little confused, but he appears to suggest that the *abhinihita* sandhi, which is found in a few cases in the RV. itself, must have influenced these cases also. The crasis of $-e+a-$ etc. over $-ay+a-$ etc. is proportionately as frequent as the other of $-e+i-$ or $-o+u-$ over $-ay+i$ and $-as+u-$, and the presence of y and v may have coloured the quality of the preceding vowel resulting into $-\bar{e}-$ and $-\bar{o}-$ with a double crasis. This usage in turn, must have affected the other group where both the vowels are kept. Why the redactors preserved the two syllables here and did not do so in many other cases like $a+a$ or $i+a$, cannot be made out. It is thus clear that Oldenberg regards that the phonetic value of the finals in the cases showing absence of the *abhinihita* sandhi was only $-a$, which was originally followed by a sound corresponding to the spiritus lenis in cases of $-ay$ and $-av$ and some kind of glottal stop in case of $-as$, which prevented further crasis.

Wackernagel has virtually accepted the phonetic value $-a a-$ assigned to them by Oldenberg, but he differs from him in two minor points. Against Oldenberg, he explains the writing of e and o for the regular a by supposing that the form before the consonants was used before a as well, and it soon developed into the classical sandhi, which later influenced the writing of the Veda. He points out that the reduced coefficients y , v of the

original diphthongs \bar{e} , \bar{o} could not give the timbre of e and o to the original a , as this explanation fails to satisfy the case of as from $-aḥ$. In other words, the *abhinihita* sandhi is no continuation of the original sandhi of e and o before $a-$.

Though Oldenberg believed that the original value of the finals in such cases was $-a a-$, in which Wackernagel agrees with him, he usually used a simplified notation of writing them as e' and o' in order to indicate their short value. This has led Macdonell to commit a strange mistake. Accepting the explanation of Oldenberg that the sandhi of final e and o before $a-$ was the same as before other vowels, he yet regards the syllables to be pronounced as \bar{e} and \bar{o} , which is thus explicitly stated by him in his *Vedic Grammar for Students*. This is obviously self-contradictory. Bloomfield and Edgerton have nothing to say about the phonetic value of the finals and they simply point to the discussion of Wackernagel, thus presumably accepting his views.

The examination of the relevant facts however reveals a different principle at the basis of all these cases, which has somehow escaped the notice of the earlier scholars. We can begin our investigation, in the first place, with material supplied by the *Rk-Prātisākhya* and then an attempt may be made to control the results by an analysis of one or two *Māṇḍalas* of *RV*. In case of deciding the peculiarities of a text like *RV*, where no external control is available, it is of some importance that an investigation carried on with a part of the text be controlled by a similar analysis of another part of the same text. Besides using the cases collected by the *Prātisākhya*, Oldenberg and Arnold, I have utilised the III and IX *Māṇḍalas* of *RV*, fully.

A fruitful approach to the problem would be to determine above all the possible cause of the two-fold divergent procedure followed by the *Rgvedic* poets themselves and later on by the redactors in dealing with the cases of the final e and o followed by $a-$, which Oldenberg remarks, he cannot find out. Nor has the *Rgveda Prātisākhya* given us any definite rule suggesting the reason of this two-fold treatment of either preserving or eliding the initial $a-$ in such cases. Generally the *Rgvedic* poets have kept the two syllables apart and intact, and we can reasonably suppose that they absorbed the initial $a-$ in the preceding vowel

whenever the metre demands it. The redactors have also followed the same procedure. But we also find numerous cases of discrepancy between the writing and the actual pronunciation. One of the most striking cases of such discrepant treatment is found in the obervance of the *abhinihita* sandhi between the ends of the Pādas, which form one unit in the redacted text. This rule is invariably observed in the RV. and is duly noted by the Prātiśākhya. Oldenberg simply leaves aside all these cases, calling them as merely a whimsical activity of the redactors and then comes to the plausible conclusion that in the majority of the cases of the latter half of the X Maṇḍala, the writing shows a fair approximation to the actual pronunciation. The writers of the Vedic Variants suggest that the sandhi was indicated here, as there was no possibility of confusion in the pronunciation. Obviously both the explanations are not satisfactory and the attempt to bring together the pronunciation and the writing in agreement, by neglecting this majority of cases of the discrepancy, cannot be acceptable. In the I Maṇḍala there are 60 cases of this sandhi in the interior of a Pāda, while there are as many as 108 cases at the Pāda-end. In the III Maṇḍala the cases are 12 in the middle of the Pāda¹ and 40 at the end. In the IX Maṇḍala² the cases are 14 to 68. Even among the cases where the loss of *a* is indicated in the middle of the Pāda, we find in the I M. the initial *a-* read in 41 cases as against 19 where it is lost in pronunciation.³ The figures for the III M are 11 where *a-* is pronounced as against 1 where it is lost in pronunciation as well : for the IX M. *a-* is pronounced in 11 cases, while it is silent in 3 cases. As against this we may set the figures of Oldenberg for Maṇḍala X 90- end ; where in 19 cases *a-* is correctly lost, while in 22 it must be pronounced in spite of the writing. The explanation of this difference can only be found in the fact that in the X Maṇḍala this sandhi had come into greater vogue.

¹ III. 4. 10a ; 13. 2d ; 16. 5a ; 19. 5c ; 20. 3b ; 29. 3d ; 29. 16b ; 30. 16a ; 33. 6c ; 33. 7d ; 57. 2d ; 60. 6b.

² IX. 7. 3a ; 71. 9c ; 73. 4a ; 74. 1a ; 74. 6a ; 86. 11d ; 86. 27b ; 91. 2d ; 96. 4a ; 97. 20a ; 97. 33a ; 97. 41b ; 107. 2a ; 107. 6c.

³ I. 24. 8c ; 30. 16d ; 33. 13b ; 51. 3a ; 51. 5a ; 52. 9d ; 59. 2c ; 59. 3b ; 79. 11a ; 81. 1c ; 85. 7a ; 88. 6a ; 103. 7b ; 118. 7a ; 122. 1a ; 162. 7a ; 167. 2a ; 168. 9c ; 186. 8c.

If it is admitted that the guiding principle in these cases, at least at the beginning, was not the actual pronunciation, we must find it in the nature of the final vowels *e* and *o*, and naturally in their length. It is quite obvious that these vowels at the end of the Pāda must necessarily be long, and thus require the elision of the following *a-* irrespective of the fact that it is to be pronounced or not. In other words, the original principle which guided the observance of this sandhi in some cases and not in others must have been the quantity of the final *e* and *o*, whether long or short. As their value is uniformly long at the end of the Pāda, the elision of the *a-* in such cases is naturally the rule, and the question whether *a-* in these cases is to be pronounced or not is immaterial. If this is true, we should expect no exceptions to it, and except for three isolated cases already noticed by the Prātiśākhya, the rule is uniformly observed. Even the three exceptional cases show some peculiar features which explain the absence of the sandhi. The cases are :

VII. 103. 3 cd. *nā putrō* | *anyō anyāmūpa vādantameti* Triṣṭubh

VIII. 9. 15 ab. *parāḱē* | *arvāḱē āsti bhṣajām* Bṛhatī

IX. 39. 5 ab. *parāvāto* | *ātho arvāvātah sūtāḥ* Gayatri

In all these cases, it is easy to see that immediately after the Pāda end, an exactly similar case follows, where the absence of Sandhi is justified, and this must have influenced the redactors in not setting the Sandhi earlier.

Taking our suggestion from these numerous cases of the *abhinihita* sandhi, which were so long regarded as purely arbitrary and of no account, we may proceed to investigate others where the sandhi is justified by the metre. It is reasonable to suppose that the Vedic poets followed this sandhi in all those cases where metre requires it, though it does not follow that it was not used in all those cases where *a-* is required to be pronounced metrically, for we have just noted that this sandhi may be one way of indicating the long value of the preceding vowels and not merely an indication of absorption of the following *a-*. But wherever the poets themselves have followed this sandhi, it is obvious that the metrical value of the final *e* and *o* must be long. Now, it is well-known that, though we are not in a position to decide the metrical length of all syllables of the Vedic metres, there is a fair chance of doing it in the case of the last few syllables forming

the cadence, and in other places the surrounding syllables at least indicate the preference of the Vedic poets for short or long syllables. Thus to take the most frequent types, the 6th of the octosyllabic lines and the 8th and the 10th of the eleven and twelve syllabled lines must be long. The last syllable of all these lines is anceps. Other less obvious cases of long syllables are the second and the third of all these lines where the third and the second are found to be short.

According to the enumeration of Arnold,¹ there are 84 cases in RV. where the initial *a-* is metrically lost after the final *e* and *o*. There are actually 89 such cases, out of which 13 show the written *a-* though the metre requires its elision, but a few cases remain doubtful. The remaining 76 cases can be distributed as follows, according to the syllable in which the final *e* and *o* occur.

I. In the eight-syllable lines of metres like Gāyatrī, Anuṣṭubh, Pañkti, Bṛhatī and Satobṛhatī

Syllable	No.	Remark	Long	Doubtful
2nd	4	2 with 3rd syllable short ($\simeq - \simeq -$)	2	-
		2 in later Anuṣṭubh ($- - - \simeq$)	2	-
3rd	4	with the 2nd syllable short ($\simeq \simeq - \simeq$)	4	-
4th	7	before the break	7	-
5th	1	($- \simeq - -$)	1	-
6th	4	($\simeq - \simeq -$)	4	-
	20		20	-

II. In the lines of even syllables mostly Trisṭubh :

2nd	7	6 with third short	6	1
3rd	1	1 with second short	1	-
4th	4	followed by caesura	4	-
5th	5	followed by caesura	5	-
7th	3	with an early caesura	3	-
8th	16		16	-
9th	1	X. 49. 5. c.	-	1
10th	11		11	-
	48		46	2

¹ *Vedic Metre* 137.

² [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

III. In lines of twelve syllables, mostly Jagatī:

1st	1	(— — — √)	—	1
2nd	1	third short (√ — √ —)	1	—
7th	1	with early caesura	1	—
8th	3		3	—
10th	2		2	—
		8	7	1
Total	76		73	3

This analysis of the cases where the *abhinihita* sandhi is observed and metrically attested leaves no doubt that in all such cases the final *e* and *o* were long and metrically felt as such. It thus confirms the suggestion to which we were led by the observation of the sandhi at the end of the Pāda.

The 13 cases in which the *a-* is written and yet, according to Arnold, metre requires its elision, are difficult to decide. They are:

I. 70. 4b, *uśām ná vśvo amṛtaḥ svādhīḥ* / Dvipadā Virāj. The no. of syllables as 10 may have influenced the redactors.

I. 190. 3d, *mṛgō ná bhīmō arakṣāsastuviṣmān* / Triṣṭubh. There may be confusion of the caesura after the 4th and 5th syllable.

I. 53. 2c, *śikṣānarāḥ pradīvo ākāmakaṛṣanaḥ* / Jagatī.

I. 89. 6c, *svasī nas tārksyo āriṣṭanemiḥ* / Virāṭsthānā. The metrical elision may not be intended as can be seen by comparison with the next Pāda: *svasī na bṛhaspātir dadhātu* /

I. 186, 11a, *iyām sū vo asmē dādhītur yajatrā* / Triṣṭubh. It is possible to take the first two short syllables as one long.

III. 59. 2d, *nāinam ānuho aśnotyāntito ná durāt* / Triṣṭubh.

VII. 61. 3d, *ṛdhag yutō ṁnīmiṣaṁ rākṣamānū* / Triṣṭubh.

VIII. 50. 5b, *iyānō ātyo ná toṣate* / Bṛhatī

VIII. 58. 1c, *yō anūcāno brāhmaṇo yuktā āsīt* / Triṣṭubh.

IX. 9. 4b, *nadyo ajinvad adruhaṇ* / Gāyatrī. The loss is doubtful.

X. 72. 4c, *āditer dākṣo ajāyata* / Anṣṭubh. More naturally the first two syllables must count as one.

X. 89. 13d, *ānvāpo ajihata jāyamānam* / Triṣṭubh. The number of the syllables may have influenced the writing.

X. 108. 5b, *pari divo antān subhage patanti* / Triṣṭubh.

Many of these cases are metrically defective, but as far as our present problem is concerned, in no case do we find the final *e* and *o* occupying a place where a long syllable is necessary and in all cases the syllable can well be short.

We may now proceed to observe the practice of the redactors of RV. as it is revealed in the cases where the loss of *a-* is not justified by metre. It is quite apparent that the Prātisākhya has followed no principle on which to explain the numerous cases where the *a* is elided in the interior of the Pāda. Yet it is obvious that the majority of the cases of this elision were collected by the writer of the Prātisākhya and brought under some empirical rules, which, however, show no inner connection and are mostly descriptive. A verification of the rules of the Prātisākhya with the actual cases in RV. gives the following results, which go to show that the description of the Prātisākhya is accurate and fairly exhaustive. (i) Under the rule, where *a-* is followed by *y* and *v* of a light syllable we may include cases like I. 7. 4a; I. 17. 2a; I. 32. 15a; I. 45. 5d; I. 48. 14b; I. 51. 3a; I. 77. 4b; I. 81. 8c; I. 85. 10a etc. with a total of 130 cases. (ii) Under the rule of *-āvo* followed by a light *a-* followed by any light syllable, come cases like I. 92. 1d; I. 152. 9c; I. 163. 8b; V. 30. 10a; X. 12. 4c = in all 5 cases. (iii) The rule about the endings *-aye -ave -ayo -avo* includes cases like I. 24. 8c; I. 47. 8a; I. 51. 6b; I. 103. 7b; I. 104. 1c; I. 121. 13d; I. 122. 1a; I. 126. 2d; I. 164. 5c; I. 186. 7a; II. 23. 16b etc. = 67 cases in all. (iv) The rule about *vo* preceded by *ā, pra*, etc. explains cases like I. 107. 1c; I. 110. 3a; I. 168. 5a; III. 57. 2d; IV. 34. 3c; IV. 34. 11a; IV. 55. 1d; V. 54. 10c; V. 61. 2a; X. 32. 5a; X. 63. 6c; X. 76. 5a; X. 166. 3a; X. 166. 4d; = 14 in all. (v) The rule about the initial *a-* of words like *adāt, arvatah, ajanayanta* etc. covers 28 cases. (vi) The loss of *a-* after words like *vāsovāyo, abhibhuve* etc. covers 9 cases. (vii) Finally the Prātisākhya enumerates 62 cases of specific combinations in RV. The total of all these cases thus explained by the Prātisākhya comes to 315 in all, leaving behind a small number unaccounted for.

This way of analysis and classification, though accounting for the majority of the cases cannot be accepted as representing the principles of either the poets themselves or of the redactors of

the Samhitā. Not only does it fail to explain cases like I. 168. 1c. *ā no' rācaḥ*; III. 60. 6b *no' amīn*; X. 90. 4b *pādo' syehābhavat* etc. but in some cases the loss falls under two distinct rules as in V. 31. 5c *pavāyo' rāthāḥ* (rules 3 and 5); VI. 47. 24c *pāpāva' dāt* (rules 3 and 5) etc. Moreover we meet here with the formulation of general rules which are so in mere appearance, as they are applicable to single cases only, for instance with the words *arvataḥ*, *avyatyat*, *avīratā*, *hīranyatrīṅgo* etc.

If we now try to examine the cases where *a-* is elided in the interior of the Pāda in RV. but where metre requires its pronunciation and classify them according to the metrical value of the final *e* and *o*, we get the following results.

I. In the lines of eight syllables:

Syllable	No.	Remark	long	Doubtful
2nd ¹	7	5 have the third short	5	2
3rd ²	12	10 have the 4th short		
		1 has the second short	11	1
4th ³	3	anceps	3	—
5th	18	cf. the note below	18	—
6th ⁴	5		5	—
45			42	3

Note:— Apparently the 18 cases in the fifth syllable go against the rule that the 5th should be short. But a careful consideration of these cases reveals an important fact. Of these, 16 have the scheme (— ()) —: I. 17. 2a; III. 13. 2d; V. 22. 3c; V. 35. 1a; V. 65. 3a; VI. 14. 3a; VIII. 11. 6a; VIII. 12. 19a; VIII. 23. 21b; VIII. 27. 13a; VIII. 27. 15d; VIII. 30. 3a; VIII. 33. 6a; VIII. 33. 10b; VIII. 53. 7a; VIII. 91. 7a. Two have the scheme (— (—)) —: I. 37. 13b; V. 6a where the elided *a-* is long by position. In actual writing, of course, the foot gives the appearance of (—) — which is the normal ending of the octosyllabic lines. A careful reading of all these lines makes it highly probable that the end was so pronounced that the *a-* was really absorbed in the preceding long syllable, which thus occupied the place of both the 5th and 6th syllables of the line.

¹ V. 35. 3a; V. 61. 2a; VI. 48. 12b; VIII. 2. 36c; VIII. 30. 4d; X. 102. 1b; X. 171. 2b.

² I. 45. 5d; 48. 14b; 81. 8c; 91. 9c; VI. 54. 3b; VII. 96. 5c; VIII. 8. 6b; 8. 20d; 27. 4; 79. 3b; X. 25. 4b; 190. 1b.

³ I. 105. 17a; III. 16. 5a; X. 26. 6c.

⁴ I. 7. 4a; VI. 47. 24c; X. 22. 7c; 102. 1d; 185. 1a.

II. In lines of eleven syllables :

1st ¹	3		-	3
2nd ⁸	9	6 have the third short	6	3
3rd ⁸	2	1 has the second short	1	1
4th ⁴	60	before caesura	60	-
5th ⁵	39	before caesura	39	-
6th ⁶	3		-	3
7th ⁷	7		-	7
8th ⁸	22		22	-

145

128

17

III. In lines of twelve syllables :

1st ⁹	1		-	1
2nd ¹⁰	4		-	4
4th ¹¹	14	before caesura	14	-
5th ¹²	20	before caesura	20	-
7th ¹³	4		-	4
8th ¹⁴	6		6	-
9th ¹⁵	2	cf. II. 1. 9c; X. 49. 5c.	-	2

51

40

11

¹ I. 88. 2a; X. 109. 1a; 181. 3a.

² I. 107. 1c; II. 12. 8b; III. 33. 6c; 57. 2d; IV. 34. 3c; VII. 35. 13b; X. 15. 1d; 77. 8c; 99. 8d.

³ VI. 26. 1d; 50. 14a.

⁴ I. 32. 15a; 71. 9a; 77. 4b; 112. 24c; 121. 13d; 126. 2d; 163. 8b; 181. 3a; 190. 7a; III. 4. 10a; 33. 7d; IV. 2. 5a; 3. 8c; 4. 12b; 13. 5d; 14. 5d; 20. 2b; 21. 10d; 24. 4c; 25. 1c; 25. 6d; 25. 8b; 25. 8a; 43. 6b; V. 41. 5b; 57. 7d; VI. 4. 8a; 9. 7c; 9. 7d; 17. 5b; 21. 6a; 21. 3a; 23. 2b; 26. 1c; 36. 1b; 63. 7a; 66. 4b; VII. 1. 19a; 18. 14a; 24. 4b; 33. 2d; 36. 8c; 38. 6c; 38. 7c; 38. 6a; 53. 3a; 98. 1a; 104. 12d; IX. 91. 2d; 96. 4a; X. 28. 11c; 30. 3a; 34. 5b; 61. 7a; 95. 5b; 95. 5c; 95. 6c; 99. 4a; 101. 1d; 177. 2b.

⁵ I. 104. 1c; 163. 9a; 164. 5c; 180. 4b; 183. 5b; II. 12. 6c; 28. 6b; III. 19. 5c; 20. 3b; 29. 16b; 30. 16a; IV. 1. 4b; 1. 5a; 16. 20d; 17. 16d; V. 30. 10a; 76. 2c; 83. 10d; VI. 3. 5b; 23. 9d; 25. 2b; 50. 9d; 63. 1b; 75. 1b; VII. 19. 10d; 21. 9c; 24. 1c; 48. 4b; IX. 71. 9c; 97. 20a; 97. 33a; 97. 41b; X. 7. 7a; 12. 4c; 78. 4a; 87. 3b; 107. 11c; 120. 7a; 183. 2a.

⁶ IV. 33. 3d; 34. 11a; X. 15. 5d.

⁷ I. 186. 7a; VI. 20. 4b; 22. 8b; 26. 3a; 36. 2c; X. 39. 10a; 54. 3b.

⁸ I. 51. 15a; IV. 2. 12a; 34. 3a; V. 31. 5c; 41. 11c; 25. 1c; VI. 50. 4b; 50. 15c; 66. 4a; 67. 7c; VII. 3. 2a; 58. 2b; 60. 1a; 64. 5b; 65. 5b; 86. 7b; 97. 2a; X. 46. 2d; 48. 7d; 61. 12c; 99. 4c; 115. 9b.

⁹ II. 24. 11a.

¹⁰ I. 168. 1c; 168. 5a; V. 24. 10c; X. 32. 5a.

¹¹ I. 51. 6b; 92. 1d; 112. 2c; 140. 6a; 152. 9c; II. 21. 2a; 31. 6b; IV. 36. 5d; V. 54. 2d; VII. 83. 5d; IX. 86. 11d; X. 48. 5b; 63. 14a; 113. 7c.

¹² I. 85. 10a; 85. 11a; 110. 3a; 132. 4b; 138. 3b; 155. 3c; VI. 61. 3c; VII. 75. 1c; VIII. 25. 20c; IX. 73. 4a; 74. 1a; 74. 6a; 86. 27b; 107. 2a; X. 43. 2d; 48. 3b; 56. 6a; 66. 14d; 76. 5a; 94. 4b.

¹³ I. 47. 8a; IX. 107. 6c; X. 78. 7a. 100. 9a.

¹⁴ I. 36. 12a; II. 1. 7a; VI. 25. 3a; VII. 104. 20b; VIII. 21. 1b; X. 48. 6b.

¹⁵ II. 1. 9c; X. 49. 5c.

The facts are sufficiently clear and decisive. In the vast majority of the cases, the final *e* and *o* before the elided *a-* is long, while in a few cases the value remains doubtful. It is only in two cases of the 9th syllable that they appear to show a short value, but both the lines are metrically defective. Like the earlier cases where the loss of *a-* is metrical and hence attributable to the poets themselves, these cases also reveal the fact that the redactors have followed the same principles of dropping the initial *a-* after the long *ē* and *ō*, thus preserving the memory of their long value in a definite number of cases. It is just possible that in a few individual cases, they may have made mistakes or confused the real values of the finals, which is not surprising in view of the same writing of *e* and *o* every where. In any case they never intended to indicate by the loss of *a-*, a loss of that syllable in actual pronunciation.

If the above suggestion is correct, it should be possible to verify it by the large number of cases, where the initial *a-* is not elided after the final *e* and *o* in RV. Naturally we should expect in all such cases a short value for the final *e* and *o*, justified by the metre, wherever we are in a position to decide it. Indeed, this fact, viz. the metre normally requires a short value of final *e* and *o* before *a-* was already noted by the Vedic scholars long ago, and they have given it even a wider scope than is justified. According to the current opinion of scholars like Oldenberg, Arnold, Macdonell and others, wherever the *a-* of the Samhitā is to be read, whether it is written or not, the preceding *e* or *o* must be pronounced short, and we have seen above, how this short value is explained by Oldenberg by the supposition that it was really the sound *a* in all such cases, later changed to *e* and *o*. Our discussion so far reveals that this view, in this extreme form, cannot be maintained. Apart from all the cases at the Pāda-end where *a-* is read, the cases of the sixth syllable in the octosyllabic lines, and those occurring in the 8th syllable of the lines of eleven and twelve syllables, can never be regarded as showing a short value of *e* and *o*. To appreciate fully the value of these 33 cases, it must be remembered that these occur in the cadence which is metrically most rigid and stand out of a total of 35 such cases, leaving aside the 18 cases of the octosyllabic lines

for which we have found a special reason for their occurrence. The two exceptions are found in lines which are metrically defective.

But there are ample indications to show that the final e and o were pronounced short before the following a - which was not elided. From the bulk of such cases, I have collected and analysed all such cases from the III and IX Maṇḍalas of RV. in order to verify the hypothesis. The cases even in these two books are ample enough to give definite and reliable results and there is no doubt that the results obtained by an analysis of the other Maṇḍalas would prove to be similar. Altogether the tabulation gives the following results :

I. Lines of eight syllables :

Syllable	No.	Metrical scheme with e and o as short.
1st ¹	5	(√ — — √)
2nd ²	22	17 = (√ √ — √) 5 = (— √ √ —)
3rd ³	27	26 = (√ — √ √) 1 = (√ √ √ —)
4th ⁴	40	38 = (√ √ — √) 2 = (√ — √ √)
5th ⁵	95	92 = (√ — √ —) 3 = (√ — — x)
		cf. IX. 18. 1b; IX. 53. 1a; IX. 98. 3a.

189

¹ III. 10. 3c; IX. 21. 5c; 52. 4c; 62. 8a; 65. 22b.

² III. 16. 3b; 27. 2a; 27. 14a; 41. 8a; 51. 11a; 51. 12a; 62. 14a; IX. 2. 4b; 23. 3b; 23. 5a; 34. 6b; 34. 2c; 39. 5b; 44. 6a; 42. 2a; 62. 1a; 63. 4a; 63. 9b; 63. 16b; 64. 12a; 65. 20c; 66. 13b.

³ III. 13. 5c; 44. 1a; IX. 2. 5a; 6. 3b; 7. 7c; 8. 1c; 11. 7c; 23. 5c; 24. 4c; 26. 1b; 26. 1c; 26. 2a; 27. 1b; 30. 4a; 31. 5c; 35. 3c; 40. 1a; 48. 3c; 51. 1a; 52. 1c; 61. 3a; 61. 21a; 62. 9b; 66. 7c; 98. 6b; 102. 3c.

⁴ III. 8. 7a; 9. 3d; 24. 2b; 27. 7a; 29. 10b; 42. 9c; 45. 2b; IX. 2. 7b; 3. 1a; 3. 2c; 7. 5a; 11. 2b; 13. 9a; 18. 7b; 21. 2a; 21. 7a; 24. 1a; 24. 2a; 26. 4c; 27. 5b; 29. 5a; 30. 4b; 32. 5a; 34. 6c; 37. 4b; 38. 3b; 49. 5a; 59. 2a; 61. 16a; 61. 25b; 62. 11b; 63. 5c; 66. 22a; 66. 29a; 67. 10a; 67. 19a; 67. 20a; 101. 16b; 102. 7a; 103. 4b.

⁵ III. 10. 7a; 10. 8c; 13. 4d; 16. 6b; 22. 4a; 24. 2c; 27. 4a; 37. 11c; 40. 1c; 40. 7b; 42. 1c; IX. 2. 5c; 3. 9c; 5. 2b; 6. 2c; 7. 2a; 7. 3a; 7. 3c; 7. 4b; 9. 2b; 10. 1c; 12. 8b; 13. 1a; 13. 1b; 16. 4b; 16. 6a; 16. 7c; 17. 2c; 17. 3b; 18. 1b; 19. 7c; 20. 5c; 21. 7b; 32. 2b; 24. 6a; 28. 2a; 28. 6b; 30. 1b; 31. 1b; 31. 5b; 32. 1c; 34. 4b; 34. 1b; 36. 4c; 37. 1b; 41. 1b; 42. 5c; 45. 5a; 50. 5b; 51. 3a; 52. 1b; 53. 1a; 53. 1b; 54. 1b; 55. 1a; 56. 1b; 57. 2b; 62. 2c; 62. 23b; 62. 25a; 63. 3b; 63. 5b; 64. 4b; 64. 5c; 64. 24a; 66. 5a; 66. 11b; 67. 1b; 67. 3a; 67. 4a; 67. 15c; 67. 22a; 67. 32a; 98. 2a; 98. 3a; 98. 3c; 98. 11b; 100. 1a; 100. 7b; 101. 1a; 101. 4c; 101. 5b; 101. 7b; 101. 14a; 101. 15c; 102. 5b; 103. 2b; 103. 3b; 105. 2b; 105. 4a; 107. 10a; 107. 12b; 107. 22d; 113. 7d.

Out of these 189 cases 92 have necessarily the short value of *e* and *o*. It is not possible to determine with the same amount of certainty the value of the other cases, though it can be seen that the neighbouring long syllable suggests a preference for a short value of the syllable in question.

II. Lines of eleven syllables :

1st ¹	3	2 = (√ — — —) 1 = (√ — √ — —)
2nd ²	14	11 = (√ √ — —) 3 = (— √ — — √)
3rd ²	27	(√ — √ — √)
4th ⁴	23	(√ √ √ —)
5th ⁵	42	(√ √ √ — √)
6th ⁶	15	caesura after the 4th (√ √ —)
7th ⁷	10	8 = (√ √ √) 2 = (√ √)
8th ⁸	11	(√ , √ — —)
9th ⁹	50	(— √ — —)

195.

¹ III. 39. 4b ; 55 17b ; IX. 91. 4d.

² III. 1. 11b ; 5. 4a ; 5. 4c ; 5. 9c ; 8. 2c ; 19. 2a ; 29. 7a ; 33. 6a ; 51. 4d ; 57. 6a ; IX. 89. 6d ; 91. 5d ; 97. 21c ; 97. 35d.

³ III. 1. 1d ; 1. 3d ; 1. 4d ; 1. 20a ; 5. 2d ; 6. 5a ; 14. 5a ; 15. 2a ; 15. 2d ; 15. 4a ; 17. 1d ; 18. 1a ; 19. 5c ; 21. 4b ; 22. 1a ; 32. 15a ; 54. 21c ; 54. 21d ; 55. 2a ; 55. 2b ; 55. 3c ; IX. 88. 6d ; 89. 5b ; 96. 10b ; 97. 15d ; 97. 17a ; 97. 51a.

⁴ III. 1. 10b ; 1. 18a ; 5. 9b ; 6. 5c ; 6. 8a ; 20. 1d ; 22. 3a ; 23. 1d ; 30. 10c ; 30. 14d ; 31. 9b ; 32. 10a ; 43. 7d ; 46. 3d ; 54. 18c ; 54. 18a ; 54. 20c ; IX. 69. 10b ; 88. 8d ; 97. 12d ; 97. 13a ; 97. 39d ; 97. 55c.

⁵ III. 7. 3c ; 7. 5a ; 8. 2b ; 14. 7b ; 14. 7d ; 15. 3b ; 18. 2a ; 29. 9d ; 29. 13c ; 30. 6c ; 32. 9b ; 35. 1c ; 38. 4c ; 38. 4d ; 43. 5d ; 51. 7b ; 53. 7b ; 53. 17d ; 54. 12d ; 56. 2a ; 57. 4b ; 58. 1d ; 58. 3d ; 58. 4b ; 59. 4b ; IX. 87. 1b ; 87. 6a ; 87. 7b ; 89. 1c ; 89. 7a ; 91. 1c ; 92. 5c ; 93. 1d ; 96. 13b ; 96. 23b ; 97. 4c ; 97. 5c ; 97. 7d ; 97. 21a ; 97. 31b ; 97. 37b ; 97. 40c.

⁶ III. 5. 5a ; 7. 9a ; 17. 5a ; 32. 3d ; 36. 3d ; 53. 23d ; 54. 2a ; 54. 3c ; 59. 2a ; 61. 6a ; IX. 90. 4d ; 91. 3d ; 96. 1a ; 97. 21b ; 97. 30d.

⁷ III. 20. 2d ; 30. 9c ; 34. 7c ; 46. 3b ; 55. 5c ; 55. 8a ; IX. 89. 2b ; 96. 1b ; 97. 11b ; 97. 35c.

⁸ III. 1. 21b ; 4. 4a ; 6. 4c ; 7. 7c ; 14. 7b ; 15. 1b ; 18. 2c ; 19. 4a ; 38. 4a ; IX. 89. 3a ; 97. 54d.

⁹ III. 1. 1c ; 1. 12d ; 1. 14c ; 4. 2b ; 4. 11a ; 5. 9a ; 6. 8d ; 7. 2a ; 8. 5a ; 14. 1c ; 14. 1d ; 14. 5a ; 17. 3b ; 23. 4b ; 29. 16a ; 30. 2d ; 30. 19c ; 30. 20d ; 31. 7d ; 31. 11b ; 32. 13a ; 35. 1b ; 35. 1c ; 35. 5b ; 36. 6d ; 46. 2b ; 48. 3c ; 50. 4d ; 53. 5b ; 53. 21a ; 55. 12c ; 55. 15a ; 56. 5c ; 56. 6b ; 57. 1d ; 58. 4d ; 61. 2c ; 61. 5c ; IX. 85. 12a ; 85. 12b ; 87. 4b ; 87. 5d ; 89. 1b ; 89. 6b ; 93. 2b ; 96. 10b ; 96. 24c ; 97. 3b ; 97. 6c ; 97. 31d.

Here also the 50 cases of the ninth syllable must show a short value. The 11 cases in the 8th syllable appear to go against the expected short value, but we must note that in all these 11 cases there is the word-ending, in which case a short syllable in the 8th is permissible. In the 15 cases of the 6th syllable, the *e* and *o* occur in the second place after the caesura and is preferably short. The schemes are $5 = (- \vee -)$ $10 = (\vee \vee -)$. The cases in the 7th syllable are not so uniform. Their schemes are: $2 = (\vee \vee)$ $4 = (\vee \vee \vee)$ and $4 = (- \vee \vee)$. Even here the preference for a short syllable is visible. The 65 cases in the 4th and 5th syllables all occurring before the caesura remain doubtful. In the 27 cases of the third syllable, the value is decidedly short as both the 2nd and the 4th syllables are long. The 14 cases of the second syllable show a long third syllable and in view of the prevailing iambic cadence, they should be preferably short. The 3 cases in the first syllable remain indeterminate.

III. Lines of twelve syllables:

1st ¹	5	($\vee - \vee \vee \vee$)
2nd ²	2	($\vee \vee - -$)
3rd ³	10	($\vee - \vee - \vee$)
4th ⁴	9	
5th ⁵	39	
6th ⁶	5	($\vee \vee -$)
7th ⁷	8	$3 = (\vee \vee \vee)$ $5 = (\vee \vee \vee)$
8th ⁸	5	($\vee \vee - \vee -$)
9th ⁹	23	($- \vee - \vee -$)

106

¹ III. 2. 7c; IX. 70. 3a; 86. 15a; 86. 15b; 86. 42a.

² III. 26. 3c; IX. 86. 19b.

³ III. 2. 3b; 3. 3b; 9. 2c; IX. 71. 3d; 72. 4a; 74. 2b; 83. 2b; 84. 1c; 85. 8c; 86. 45b.

⁴ III. 2. 4b; 26. 1b; IX. 71. 7a; 77. 3c; 86. 8a; 86. 12b; 107. 6c; 107. 13a; 73. 1c.

⁵ III. 26. 6c; 29. 11d; 60. 3b; 60. 3c; 60. 7d; IX. 68. 6b; 70. 2a; 70. 4c; 71. 5b; 71. 7b; 72. 3a; 73. 3b; 75. 1b; 75. 5b; 76. 1c; 76. 2d; 78. 1b; 81. 5b; 82. 1a; 82. 2b; 82. 3c; 85. 5c; 86. 3a; 86. 3c; 86. 6c; 86. 21b; 86. 24b; 86. 25b; 86. 25c; 86. 26a; 86. 27d; 86. 34b; 86. 36a; 86. 39c; 106. 8c; 107. 17c; 108. 2c; 108. 4c.

⁶ III. 29. 15d; IX. 75. 2b; 81. 3d; 86. 3b; 107. 11a.

⁷ III. 2. 14c; IX. 68. 9c; 69. 1c; 69. 2b; 79. 1c; 83. 3c; 107. 1c; 107. 13a.

⁸ III. 2. 7b; 2. 9b; IX. 60. 3a; 86. 42b; 105. 6c.

⁹ III. 9. 4c; IX. 69. 4d; 71. 2b; 71. 8a; 72. 1b; 73. 2c; 73. 5b; 73. 7c; 73. 8d; 78. 5a; 80. 5d; 82. 3d; 83. 1c; 85. 4a; 86. 8c; 86. 12a; 86. 19b; 86. 44b; 86. 45c; 86. 48c; 107. 8c; 107. 13a; 107. 22a.

§ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Here the picture is essentially the same as for the Triṣṭubh lines. The 23 cases of the 9th syllable are all short; all the five cases in the 8th syllable show the necessary caesura after the word-ending. The five cases of the 6th syllable occur after an early caesura with the schemes: 4 = (√ √ -) 1 = (- √ -). The schemes for the cases of the 7th syllable are: 3 = (√ √) 3 = (- √ √) 2 = (√ √ √). The 48 cases of the 4th and 5th syllables, all occur before the caesura. The 10 cases of the 3rd syllable have the second long and the 2 of the second syllable have the third long.

Thus we see that whenever the redactors of RV. have kept the two vowels -e a-, -o a- side by side, the final e and o occur in a place in the metre, where either a short is required or is preferred. We thus feel justified in assuming them to have a short value.

We will have now to discuss more closely the values of final e and o in such cases. The long values of these sounds are well-known and need no justification. But the case of their short values is more difficult. It is probably the unwillingness to admit such short values, which led Oldenberg to suggest his explanation discussed above. The only place in Sanskrit grammar, which mentions the short values of e and o is to be found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali on the Sūtras e- o- ñ and ai- au- c (I. 1. 2). While discussing the necessity of having an indicatory t after these vowels, he points out that according to Sātyamugrarāyanīyas of the Chandogas, there is pronounced a short e and o in some cases. He illustrates them with examples like: *suajāte eśvasūñṛte*; *adhvaryo cāribhiḥ sutam*; *śukraṁ te enyat*, *yajataṁ te enyat*: all of which are cases of original e and o followed by a-, which latter is represented by short e and o and to which the name *ardha* is given. In an earlier sentence Patañjali himself says that *ardha-ekāra* and *ardha-okāra* mean the short (*hrasva*) values of these sounds. It is true that finally Patañjali points out that this short value is not found either among the people (*loke*) or in the other Vedas (*anyasmin vede*), yet the cases preserved are important as marking an intermediate stage of the *abhinilīta* sandhi. They show that e and o followed by a- developed into -ē+ē and -ō+ō finally becoming -ē- and -ō- with the absorption of the following vowel. The stage of develop-

ment revealed by the RV. cases of -ĕ a- and -o a- may be regarded as the very first step before the assimilation of the vowels began.

Some evidence of a different type to confirm the short value of o before the following unabsorbed a- may be found in a few curious cases of RV. itself. The locative singular of the word *sānu* is found in RV. 28 times. Of these the form *sānuni* occurs once, while the forms *sānavi*, *sānau* and *sāno* occur 9 times each. Here in all the 9 cases of *sāno* (followed by *avye* 8 times and by *avyaye* once) in the IX Maṇḍala, the Padapāṭha uniformly gives the original word as *sānau*, regarding the sandhi as irregular. This use is duly noted by the Prātisākhya (II. 70) where Uvṇata says that *sano avye* takes the place of the regular *sānāvavye*. Macdonell¹ suggests that the regular form *sānavyavye* would give rise to a disagreeable sequence of syllables and therefore the endingless form is used, but without the lengthening for the sake of the metre. In all these 9 cases, the o occupies the 9th place of the Triṣṭubh and Jagati and is metrically short. In all the cases it is followed by a-. Now, if the demands of the metre are to be satisfied for a short syllable, one fails to see how the Guṇa form in place of the expected Vṛddhi form could help, if both o and au are regarded as long. If on the contrary, the tradition, which regarded o followed by a- as metrically short, was still alive, one can readily understand that the use of o before the following a- without its elision would give the required metrical scheme. Other cases like *go-agrayā* IX. 71. 8d; *tiro-ahmyam* III. 28. 3b; III. 28. 6c, *dūre-ante*, III. 54. 7a etc. should be judged in the same manner.

It is well-known that the Prākṛit dialects show the short values of ̣ and ̤, mostly before conjunct consonants and sometimes final e and o are regarded as short in the metrical scheme. These facts are noted by writers on Prākṛit grammar and metre. Their frequency is much greater in the Apabhraṁśa language and is probably a part of the general tendency of the shortening observable in that language.

¹ Vedic Grammar p. 297.

Two conditions circumscribe the short values of *ě* and *õ* in Prākṛit. Either they occur before a conjunct consonant as in *oṭṭha*, *chetta* etc. or they are found as the final syllables of words like *mālāe*, *dhammāõ* etc. In the first case, the metrical value of the syllables remains the same, both Sanskrit *oṣṭha* and *ḷṣetra* having the same scheme as the Prākṛit *oṭṭha* and *chetta*. In the second case, it is only under the influence of metre that we can be conscious of the short value of these vowels. It will, therefore, be more correct to say that these final *e* and *o* are pronounced short for the convenience of the metre. In both cases, the phonetic variation is not significant, for with the following conjunct the long values of *e* and *o* cannot remain side by side with their short values in Prākṛit; and in case of short *ě* and *õ* at the end, there are no doublets with long *ē* and *ō* with a difference of meaning. In other words, whether short or long *e* and *o* form the same phonemes.

If this is their real nature, it is easy to bring them in line with other cases of short and long vowels like *a* or *i*, which are found in the RV. Samhitā. It is well-known that these vowels are often short or long in RV. and the variation is rhythmic and metrical but never significant. This difference is indicated in writing as well, because these vowels as short and long also form different phonemes in the language. Final *e* and *o* must have been subject to similar variation in the Vedic language and this fact is traditionally indicated by the presence or absence of the absorption of the following *a*-. This scope of insignificant variation of a purely metrical nature is characteristic of the poetic language and can be seen in the poetry of many New Indo-Aryan languages also.

JURIDICAL STUDIES IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW
14. LEGAL POSITION OF PHYSICIANS
IN ANCIENT INDIA¹

BY

Dr. LUDWIK STERNBACH

ABBREVIATIONS

- Āp. — Āpastambīya-Dharmaśāstra
Apar. — Aparārka
B. — Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra
Brh. — Brhaspati-Smṛti
Car. — Caraka-Saṁhitā
G. — Gautama-Dharmaśāstra
Hār. — Hārīta-Saṁhitā
Hit. — Hitopadeśa
K. — Kauṭīlya's Arthaśāstra
Katy. — Kātyāyana-Smṛti
MBh. — Mahābhārata
Medh. — Medhātithi
Mit. — Mitākṣarā
Mn. — Mānava-Dharmaśāstra
N. — Nārada-Smṛti
Śukr. — Śukranītisāra
Suś. — Suśruta-Saṁhitā
Vās. — Vāsiṣṭha-Dharmaśāstra
Vi. — Viṣṇu-Smṛti
Vir. — Viramītrodaya
Viv. — Vivādacintāmaṇi
Y. — Yājñavalkya's Dharmaśāstra

¹ Other "Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law" appeared: Nos. 1, 5, and 10 in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Volumes XXIV, part 3; XXV part 4; XXVI, parts 3 and 4; Nos. 2, 4, and 9 in *The Poona Orientalist*, Volume VIII, parts 1 and 2; 3 and 4; IX, parts 1 and 2; X, parts 3 and 4; Nos. 3 and 6 in *The New Indian Antiquary*, Volume VI, 8-9; VII, 5-6; No. 7 in *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. VI, 7; VI, 8; Nos. 11, 12 and 13 in *Supplement to Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Vol. VII, Nos. 3-4.

I. INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that the origin and growth of the science of Āyurveda and the rise of the early schools of medicine in India were as follows¹:

(a) Primitive medicine. Very little data on this subject are now available. This period may be looked upon as a prelude to the Indus Valley Civilization and the Vedic medicine;

(b) Early Vedic medicine. Gods such as Rudra, Soma, Varuṇa, Vāstospati, Ādityas, Maruts, Vāta, etc. have as one of their numerous attributes the power of causing or revealing diseases.

In Rgveda (X-97, 6) the physician (*bhiṣaj*) is called *vipraḥ sū ucyate bhiṣag rakṣohāmīvacānaḥ*.

Rudra "bearing in his hand a sharp weapon, a pure one, mighty, bearing healing medicines" is called "the best of physicians" (*bhiṣaktamo bhiṣajām*),² or "first divine physician",³ or god "who has caused disease" and "shall perform the cure" and "prepare remedies... together with early physicians".⁴

Indra is called "restorer of limbs, sight and whole life", "releaser from the unknown disease phthisis", "releaser from influence of evil planets", "protector and granter of life". Many prayers to Indra for good health and protection from illness are contained in Rgveda.

Soma is the god who "heals whatever is sick". The fermented juice of the soma-plant (*soma rasa*) makes "the blind see and the lame walk".

Varuṇa is "owner of a hundred thousand medical drugs."

Vāstospati is "the deliverer from disease."

(c) The appearance of physicians among Gods (i. e. of the Āśvin twins). These twin horsemen are "the divine physicians." They are the healers of blinds" (*andha*), of "emanciated"

¹ D. V. S. Reddi's Indian Medicine, its Origin and the Rise of Early Medical Schools in *The Journal of the Indian Medical Association*, Volume VII, No. 11, 663.

² Rgveda.

³ Yajurveda.

⁴ Atharvaveda.

(*kṛśa*), of the lame (*ruta*, *śroṇa*, *srāma*).¹ They give sight to Rjrasva blinded by his father,² restore youth to Cyavāna and prolong his life when he becomes old and decrepit.³ When the beautiful maiden Viśpalā has her leg cut off in Khela's battle during the night, the Aśvins supply her with an iron lamb (*jaṅghāmāyṛsīm*).⁴ They save Bhujyu from drowning, Atri from a fiery pit, and make the lame walk.⁵

(d) Celestial physicians begin to treat or cure human beings, or appear on earth as incarnation of Viṣṇu or Dhanvantari, to propagate the knowledge of Āyurveda, among the mortals. To Viṣṇu Āyurveda is attributed. He was a teacher of medical science. He is also called Suddhāpāṇi " carrying nectar in his hands. "

(e) Indian sages beseech divine beings or incarnation of Dhanvantari to teach them Āyurveda for the relief of ailing mankind.

(f) Bhāradvāja, Ātreya, Agniveśa and colleagues of Suśruta and his co-pupils write learned compendia based upon the lectures they have heard and propagate the theory and practice of medicine, among the learned classes of ancient India. There seems to have been two principal centres of medical education, Takṣaśilā and Kāśī (Benares), the former famous for its philosophical treatment of the subject, particularly of internal medicine, and the latter for the elucidation of the practical aspects, particularly of the surgical procedures and techniques.

¹ Rgveda (X-39; I-112, 8), etc.

² Rgveda (I-116, 17).

³ Rgveda (X-39, 4).

⁴ Rgveda (I-116, 15).

⁵ Compare R. F. G. Mueller's *Die Medizin in Rgveda in Asia Major*, Volume VI, 4, p. 370; P. J. Sarma's *The Art of Healing in Rgveda in Annals of Medical History*, Volume I, 1939; H. Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, 397.

Of the many hymns offered to the Aśvin twins P. J. Sarma quotes the following :

Ye place the germ in female creatures,
Ye place it within all beings, the fire,
O Aśvins, mighty ones, ye set in motion,
The water and the forest trees.
Ye are physicians with your remedies
and charioteers with your chariot skill;
Ye also strong ones, bestow lordship
On him who with a sacrifice
Honours you in his heart.

It is clear, therefore, that medicine and medicinal books were of very early origin. We find some notions of anatomy in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (X and XII) and Atharvaveda. The Āyurveda contains the greatest part of the ancient knowledge of medicine.

The Buddhist literature also contains many notions about medicine. In the legends we often come across the physician Jivaka, who studied the Ātreya medicine in Takṣaśīlā. In Vinaya-piṭaka many different sorts of medicines, etc., are enumerated.

The most important medical works are, however, Caraka-Saṁhitā, Suśruta-Saṁhitā and the Vāgbhaṭa. It was necessary to refer to these works in the writing of this paper, although the main sources of reference were the Dharmaśāstra and the Arthaśāstra.

It is said that Caraka lived in the time of Kauṣika (second century A. D.). Suśruta is also an old author. Suśruta, however, lived after Caraka, probably, at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A. D.

These are only the most important medical works. There are many others but this paper intends to describe nor the medical system in ancient India, nor the medical profession of those times, but solely the legal position of physicians in ancient India, according to the available legal Indian literature.¹

II. MEDICAL STUDY AND PREPARATION

FOR MEDICAL PRACTICE

(A) Definition of "Physicians"

(a) IN JURIDICAL SOURCES

The Sanskrit words commonly used in the Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra to designate physicians are : *cikitsaka*, the experienced,

¹ It should be emphasized that in this introductory section only general reference has been made to medical literature and medicine in Ancient India. For more details see J. Jolly's *Medizin, zur Quellenkunde*; M. Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, volume III, 541 sqq.; A. F. R. Hoernle's *Studies in the Medicine in Ancient India* and bibliographies quoted there. It is not possible to enumerate in this short paper the other numerous works on this subject.

For legal literature compare Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law, quoted in note 1.

the physician; *bhīṣaj*, the healer: and *vaidya*, the learned, the skilled in art of curing.¹

The physician (*cikitsaka*) is defined in Vir. (*ad Y.* I-162) as one whose means of substance is diagnosis² and in Mit. (*ad Y.* I-162)³ as one whose means of subsistence is medicine.⁴ More specific, however, is the definition found in Śukr. (II-183) where it is stated that a physician (*bhīṣaj*) is one who can discover the nature of diseases by a study of their causes and symptoms, and one who gives remedies and tries prescriptions after ascertaining whether the diseases are curable or incurable.⁴

(b) IN NON-JURIDICAL SOURCES

The non-juridical sources define the physician in more medical terms e. g. Car. (III-1, 39) states that a physician is one who is "conversant with the tastes, all articles of food and drink, the faults, and diseases in respect to their potency". He should also know place and time and the elements which make up the body and govern its respective functions.⁵ Such a physician (i. e. who is conversant with the tastes and their use⁶) is never stupefied when ascertaining causes and symptoms, means of mitigation and cure of the many diseases which afflict mankind (Car. I-26).

(B) Qualifications for a Medical Student

According to the medical literature (the juridical sources, with few exceptions, do not contain similar rules) a person who intends to become a physician must be well behaved, brave, clean in habits, modest, bodily strong, firm, intelligent and must possess good memory and the desire to learn and achieve success.⁷

The external nature of a candidate for a physician also played a great role. A medical pupil should have a honest face, nose and

¹ Āp. also uses in one instance the word *śalyakṛnta*, the remover or cutter of splinters (similarly MBh. *śalyakartṭṛ*). This word is used in addition to *cikitsaka* and denotes a surgeon. Amarakośa quotes in addition to *bhīṣaj*, *vaidya* and *cikitsaka*—*rogahārī* and *agadāṅkṛtā* (II-6, 2, 8).

² *Cikitsakah cikitsāvṛttih.*

³ *Cikitsako bhīṣagvṛtṭyupajīvi.*

⁴ *Hetuliṅgīgadābhīro tryādhīnām tattvaṁścayam, sādhyāsādhyam viditvopakramate sa bhīṣak smṛtaḥ.*

⁵ *Rusān dravyāṇi doṣāṁśca vikārāṁśca prabhāvataḥ, veda yo deśakūlau ca sarīraṁ ca sa no bhīṣak* (III-1, 39).

⁶ And with the varieties of manner in which the faults may be excited.

⁷ Śuś. (I-2).

⁸ { Annals, B. O. R. I. }

eyes, a thin tongue and lips, straight teeth, as well as cheerful disposition, good address, and ability to bear trouble and pain.¹ Similar, but more detailed attributes of a medical pupil are enumerated in Car. (III-8).

Suś. (I-2) states that if the candidate does not possess these attributes he will not be admitted as a medical pupil.

It is clear that all these " conditions " must be considered only as advice and *eo ipso* as *lex imperfecta*.

A physician could take as a pupil a person who possessed all these qualities, provided that he was a son of a Brāhmana, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya of good family, and was sixteen years old.² However, Vās. (III-3) states that he who practised medicine could not be called a Brāhmana.³

Mn. (X-47) states that physicians belong to *ambastha*⁴, i. e. sons from a Brāhmana and a Vaiśya woman.⁵ In any case it may be admitted that a physician could not belong to a Śūdra caste, or to a mixed caste in which the man or woman belonged to the Śūdra caste, although Suś. (I-2) states that " some say a Śūdra of good family and character might be admitted as a pupil but without the recitation of the *mantras*."

Car. (III-8) states generally that the pupil should belong to a family the members of which have studied medical scriptures or followed medicine as a profession.⁶

(C) Qualifications for a Teacher

Car. (III-8) also enumerates the qualifications of the physician chosen as teacher of medicine. Such a physician-teacher had to know the *śāstra* i. e. the medical books and other branches of study, should possess experience and practice in surgery and the implementation of his profession, should be clever, of good conduct (pure internally and externally), without

¹ Suś. (I-2).

² Suś. (I-2).

³ *Nāṇbrāhmaṇo bhavati na vaṇiṇna kuśilavaḥ,
na śūdrapreṣaṇam kurvanna steno na cikitsakaḥ.*

⁴ *Ambasthānām cikitsanam.*

⁵ Mn. (X-8).

⁶ Compare Dr. Cecil Webb-Johnson's *Medicine in India*, in *Asiatic Review*, Ser. 4., Volume 17, 245, where he states: " Whether a man can practice Hindu medicine depends upon his caste, and invariably the profession of physician is handed down from father to son, for the Hindu physician is born, not made".

malice or wrathfulness, capable of bearing privation or pain : he should not be defective in any of the senses, he should be compassionate toward all those who approach him, well disposed towards disciples, willing to teach them and capable of imparting his ideas to them.¹

(D) Study of Medicine

In Car. (III-8) and Suś. (I-2) we also find very interesting and detailed information concerning the subjects which the medical student has to study and the way in which study is to be conducted. *

Accordingly in Car. (III-8) it is stated that the medical pupil should select at the outset his particular treatise for study, since many treatises appertaining to the medical profession are available.

• Once a pupil has been accepted by a physician, the ceremony of initiation should take place. This ceremony is described in detail in Suś. (I-2).²

During apprenticeship the pupil had to " give up lust, anger, avarice, folly, vanity, pride, envy, rudeness, deception, falsehood, idleness and all other reprehensible conduct ". He always had to have his " hair and nails cut short, should put on red coloured cloth, lead a pure life, avoid sexual intercourse and be ready to obey his superiors ". He had to obey his teacher, -- go about, lie down, sit down, eat and study according to his wishes -- and he must always be ready to improve himself. If he fails in these duties his learning will not only be useless, but will also be guilty of a sin and his teaching will be fruitless.³

The medical student first had to study the various *sūtra*. It is however, admitted that who knows only one *sūtra* could not properly understand any subject and it was desirable, therefore, that he be acquainted with many *sūtra*. He had to study them thoroughly before he could become a genuine physician.⁴

The second stage was the study of treatment of diseases, the most important part of which was the study of surgery.⁵ Suś. attaches great importance to the practical training of the medical

¹ For details on qualifications of medical pupils and teachers see R. Roth's Indische Medizin Caraka, in *ZDMG* 26. 445-457.

² And others.

³ Suś. (I-2) ; Compare Car. (III-8).

⁴ Suś. (I-4).

⁵ Suś. (I-5).

pupil and accordingly states that even if the pupil was acquainted with all the *sūtra*, the teacher, to make him properly qualified, had to give him practical instruction on the performance of surgical operations and the application of oils, etc. A man could not qualify for practice without practical training and repeated recitation of lessons.¹ This practical training in surgical operations had to be carried out upon "various objects," which proved that this practical training did not apply to human beings. Only then did the medical student become a "qualified operator and did not faint when he was called to perform any operation on his patient." Then also "he performed these operations in the same way as he had practised them on the above mentioned objects, etc."²

(E) Graduation and License

After having completed the period of apprenticeship, i. e. after having studied the *sūtra* and learnt their meaning, after having attained the proficiency of reciting the *sūtra*, and after having obtained a practical knowledge of surgical treatment, the medical pupil could become a physician. Before commencing to practise, however, he had to receive a license, i. e. the permission of the king. This permission gave him the title of a *bhīṣaj* and only in this way did he become a licensed and fully qualified physician.

Although this rule is not to be found in the Dharmaśāstra or Arthaśāstra, it is evident from the medical literature that such a license was necessary, *conditio sine qua non*.

Suś. states clearly that "the physician should obtain the permission of the king and commence practice".³ Such a physician was called "a saviour of life".⁴

There existed, on the other hand, another class of physicians who were not licensed and who "followed diseases and destroy life".⁵ These men were "companions of diseases and destroyers of the Life-breaths".⁶ They were "ignorant" physicians.

¹ Suś. (I-9).

² Suś. (I-9 in fine). According to U. C. Dutt's translation.

³ Suś. (I-10).

⁴ Car. (I-29, 4).

⁵ Car. (I-29, 5).

⁶ Car. (I-29, 8 sqq.).

(F) Qualifications of Physicians

The four principal qualifications of physicians were : mastery of the scriptures, experience, cleverness and purity.¹ But in order to cure a disease it was not only necessary to have a good physician. Drugs, the nurse and the patient were also necessary.²

"Abundance of virtue, adaptability to the disease under treatment, capacity of being used in diverse ways, and undeterioration numbering the fourth, are the attributes of drugs.

Knowledge of the manner in which drugs should be prepared or compounded for administration, cleverness, devotedness to the patient waited upon, and purity (of both mind and body) are the four qualifications of the attending nurse.

Memory, obedience to directions (given by the physician), fearlessness and communicativeness (with respect to all that is experienced internally and all that is done by him during the intervals of the physician's visit) are the qualifications of the patient.³

However, the physician was "the most important of these four postulates ", Car. states, "since he recognised the disease, directed the treatment and applied the remedies. As in the task of looking, a vessel, fuel, and fire were means in the victor's hands for achieving a victory in battle ; even so the patient, the nurse and drugs were objects that are regarded as the physician's means in the matter of achieving a cure. In the act of treatment, the physician was regarded as the chief cause. Like clay, stick, wheel, thread, etc. in the absence of the potter, failing to produce anything by their combination, the three others viz., drugs, nurse and patient, could not work out a cure in the absence of the physician ",⁴ and again "since the three requisites of treatment were completely dependent upon the physician, therefore the physician should exert his best in the matter of those qualifications that constitute wealth ".⁵

¹ Car. (I-9, 6). Compare Car. (I-9, 3).

² *Bhīṣagdravyānyupasthātū rogi pādacatuṣṭayam, guṇavat kṛāṇam jñeyam vikāravypasāntaye* (Car. I-9, 3).

³ Car. (I-9, 7 sqq.). According to A. C. Kaviratna's translation.

⁴ According to A. C. Kaviratna's translation.

⁵ Car. (I-9, 25). According to A. C. Kaviratna's translation. Compare Suś. (I-34).

III. DUTY OF PHYSICIANS. MEDICAL TREATMENT

(A) Medical Ethics

Medical ethics were specific in Ancient India. Not everybody could be treated by physicians. The physician was ordered not to treat hunters, fowlers, outcasts and sinners. Suś.¹ states that by acting in this way he made himself known as learned and attained friends, fame, virtue, wealth and everything he desired. This is understandable because under Indian social conditions, when treating the persons mentioned above, he could not give treatment to those of higher social position and might, in some cases, be considered as an outcast. In addition, he could not treat incurable diseases.²

(B) Medical Treatment

1. The first duty of the physician was to treat and protect his patient, but what could he do, even if he would be a *Dhanvantari*. Hit. asks, if the patient's life was spanned.³

The physician (*vaidya*) always had to be friendly towards his patients, have compassion for them, and be enthusiastic in the case of curable diseases, but, as was stated above, he had to refuse to treat incurable diseases, or those persons who were on the point of death.⁴ He also had to be reliable and not a flatterer. In this connection Hit., in a beautiful aphorism, states :

*vaidyo guruśca mantrī ca yasya rājñāḥ priyamādaḥ,
śarīradharmakoṣebhyaḥ kṣipraṁ sa parihīyate*⁵.

The physician who acted "not for self-interest, neither for his own enjoyment, but out of compassion for creatures and who devoted himself to treatment excelled all (people)" is stated in Suś.⁶ Car. states that if the physician desired to win merit, he should protect his patients from diseases, as he would protect his own children.⁷ Therefore, the sick man trusted the physician

¹ Suś. (I-2 in fine).

² See chapter III (B) 1.

³ *Prakṛtiḥ svāminā tyaktā samṛddhāpi na jīvati,
api dhanvantarirvaidyaḥ kim karoti gatāyusi* (Hit. III-145).

⁴ *Maitrī kūrṇyamārteṣu śakye prītirupekṣaṇam,
prakṛtiṣṭheṣu bhūteṣu vaidyavṛttiścaturvidhā* (Car. I-9, 26).

⁵ A king whose physician, guru, and minister are flatterers, fast loses his health, his religious merits and treasure (Hit. III-104).

⁶ Suś. (I-10 in fine).

⁷ *Bhīṣagapyātūrān sarvān svasutānīva yatnāvān,
ābādhebhyo hi sahrakṣedicchan dharmamanuttamam* (Car. VI-1, 3, 56).

and was willing to place his life in the latter's care without fear, although he may fear his mother, father, children or friends.¹ Only physicians who wounded themselves in the performance of operations should be avoided,² and, of course, those who had no knowledge of medical treatment.³ The talent of physicians was tested in diseases, for, Hit. asks, who is not wise when all goes smoothly ?⁴

2. Before entering the patient's house, the physician had to observe the favourable and unfavourable omens. He had to sit down and examine his patient by sight, touch and questions.⁵ He had to ascertain accordingly the nature of the disease⁶ and start the cure, of curable diseases only, relieving those which could be relieved, but ignoring incurable cases.⁷

3. After ascertaining the nature of the disease, the physician had first to test the longevity of the patient⁸ and apply carefully selected medicines. He then had to commence "the treatment with full knowledge." "That physician who, without carefully ascertaining, seldom meets with success even if he will be well conversant with medicines and their application. That physician who was well conversant with features of diseases, who had knowledge of the considerations dependant upon time and place, achieved success, without doubt"⁹ is stated in Car. 17.¹⁰ However, Car. states that any physician who was

¹ Suś. (I-25 in fine).

² Suś. (I-25).

³ See above.

⁴ *Mantripām bhinnasamdhāne bhīṣajām sāmīpātike, karmaṇi vyajyate prajāu susthe ko vā na paṇḍitaḥ* (Hit. II-121).

⁵ Suś (I-10).

⁶ According to Suś. (I-10 in fine) " the physician who wished to attain virtue, wealth, objects of desire and fame, had to ascertain carefully the character of the disease before undertaking the treatment of the following classes of people: Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, kings, women, children, old men, timid people, servants of kings, cunning and weak persons, slanderers of physicians, poor, miserly or irritable people, orphans, persons who conceal their diseases, or who have control over their diseases, or who have no control over their transactions.....The physician should not sit together, talk, or joke with females, and, except eatables, should not accept any other presents from them "

⁷ Suś. (I-10).

⁸ Suś. (I-35).

⁹ According to A. C. Kaviratna's translation.

¹⁰ *Roṅamādan parikṣetu tato'nantaramauśadham, tataḥ karma bhīṣak paścājjānapūrvam samācareḥ. Yastu roṅamaviññāyu karmāṇyārabhate bhīṣak,*

(continued on the next page)

not acquainted with the analysis of tastes, etc. was never competent to allay disease.¹

(C) **Duty of Physicians to Inform Administrative Authorities of Undertaking Medical Treatment**

In K. we can find two very interesting administrative and police rules which refer to the medical treatment and the responsibility of physicians who undertook medical treatment without informing the administrative authorities.

And so we read in K.² *bhiṣajaḥ prāṇābūdḥikamanākhyāyopakramamūnasya vipattau purvassāhasadaṇḍaḥ* (physicians who undertake perilous medical treatment without informing, and if death follows, are confined to the lowest fine).

Who has to be informed is stated in K.³ where we read: *cikitsakaḥ pracchannavranapratīkārakūrayitāramapathyakārīṇaṁ ca gṛhasvāmī ca nivedya* (*gopasthā nivedya*) *gopasthānikayormucyetaṇyathā tulyadoṣasyāt* (any physician who undertakes in secret the treatment of a patient from wounds or excess of unwholesome food or drink, as well as the master of the house, are only innocent when they report to the *gopa* or *sthānika* otherwise both of them are equally guilty with the sufferer).

We see here that according to K., in order to safeguard himself from a possible penalty, the physician had to inform the corresponding office (officer) i. e., the *gopa* or *sthānika* when treating a grievous case which might cause death. If he did not inform the office (officer), and death occurred, he was liable to the first amercement which amounted from 12 to 96 *pana*.⁴ The physician had also to inform the *gopa* or *sthānika* immediately in cases when he was called to patient suspected of concealing his whereabouts. If the physician gave medical treatment to any such patient, whether for a wound or an excess of unwholesome food, he was liable to the same penalty as the patient.⁵ Anyone sheltering such a patient was also liable to the penalty.

(continued from the previous page)

apyausadhavidhānaujñastasya siddhiryadṛcchayā.

Yastu rogaviśeṣajñāḥ sarvabhūṣajyakovidāḥ,

deśakālapramāṇajñastasya siddhivasanśayam (Car. I-20, 20, 21, 22).

Similarly SuS. (I-10 in fine).

¹ Car. (111-1). ² K. (203, 13-14). ³ K. (144, 11-13). ⁴ K. (203, 13).

⁵ The diseases are enumerated only by example.

This rule is well known in contemporary codes as well. These are rules which are introduced, particularly during a war or in a state of emergency, in order to determine the whereabouts of partisans or underground movements. The police state of Candragupta Maurya introduced in the 4th century B. C.¹ special "modern" legal rules.

(D) Other Duties of Physicians

Another duty of the physician (*cikitsaka*), according to K.,² was "to overcome pestilences" by using medicines.

Physicians (*cikitsaka*) had not only to give medical treatment, but also prepare medicines, particularly from *ariṣṭa*³ a kind of liquor.⁴

(E) King's Physician

1. The highest aim of a physician was to become the king's physician. Some physicians were skilful in diagnosis and some were skilful in treatment. However, only those who were skilful in both could become royal physicians. Car. states, therefore, that physicians who had knowledge of symptoms of the diagnosis, the means of alleviating the disease and to cure the disease so effectually that it might not reappear, deserved to be king's physicians.⁵

In another place, Car. emphasizes that the physicians who had special knowledge of conception⁶ deserved to become king's physicians. This enumeration of physicians' knowledge must be considered, in the light of Car. (I-9, 19), as of lesser importance.

2. The principal duty of the king's physician was to protect the king from poison.⁷ He had particularly to inspect, therefore,

¹ It should be pointed out that Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra gives a splendid picture of a state and legal rules of the time of Candragupta Maurya and his minister Kauṭilya. It is not certain, however, whether this Arthaśāstra was really written in these times.

² *Auśadhaiścikitsakāḥ, śāntiprāyaścittairvā siddhatāpasāḥ* (K. 208, 4-5).

³ *Cikitsakapramāṇāḥ pratyakṣo vikārāṇāmariṣṭāḥ* (K. 120, 12).

⁴ K. (120, 6). It should also be noted that we find in K. a long list of duties and rights of veterinarians, in particular, elephant doctors (*anikastha*) (K. 50, 10; 135, 17; 138, 11, 15, 17; 139, 1; etc.) and horse doctors (*aśvānāḥ cikitsaka*) (K. 133, 13; 134, 19; etc.).

⁵ *Hetau liṅge praśamane rogāṇāmapunarbhava, jñānaḥ caturvidhaḥ yasya sa rājāṇo bhīṣaktamah* (Car. I-9, 19).

⁶ In Śārīrasthānam, lesson 4, Car. (IV-4, 58, 59).

⁷ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

the kitchen (*mahānasa*). In this connection it is understandable why Caraka, the author of the well known medical work, was the son of Nārāyaṇa, cook (*rasavatyadhikārin*) of the Bengali king Nayaṇpāla.

We find some mention of the king's physicians in K. There they are called *bhiṣaj* and not *cikitsaka*. According to K.¹ the king's physicians capable of detecting poison had always to attend the king and had to administer medicines, liquors and other beverages to him. On the other hand, the king had to attend to the business of a *vaidya*.^{2 3}

Suś.⁴ describes ways in which the physician had to protect the king (Yuktasena). It is stated there that "when the king, accompanied by his ministers, goes out on an expedition for conquest, he should be carefully protected, especially from poison. The roads, water, shady places, food, grass and fire-wood are poisoned by enemies. This should be enquired into and purified....The physician should remain in a large tent close to that of the king, equipped with all the necessary articles for treatment. Patients suffering from poison, wounds, or disease should come with confidence to the physician there located, as the banner of fame and reputation".⁵

According to K., physicians (*cikitsaka*) with surgical instruments, machines, etc. had to stand behind and encourage fighting men.⁶

Alexander the Great, during his Indian campaign, took with him some physicians whose duty it was to protect his troops from poison (serpents).

Suś.⁷ also declares that "in the Atharvaveda it is stated that there are one hundred and one forms of death; of these one is

¹ K. (43, 19-44, 2).

² *Agnyagāragataḥ kār्याṃ paśyedvaidyatapasvinām, purohitācāryasakhaḥ pratyutthāyābhivādya ca* (K. 39, 6-7).

³ In this context it is not clear whether *vaidya* means learned man or physician.

⁴ Suś. (I-34).

⁵ According to U. C. Dutt's translation.

⁶ *Cikitsakāḥ śastryantrāgādāsnehavastrakastāḥ, strīyaścānnapāṇaraksīṇyaḥ puruṣāḥ mudhakarāṇyaḥ prāṇatistīṣṭhayaḥ* (K. 369; 1-2).

⁷ Suś. (I-34)

owing to old age, the rest are all accidental. The physician, by his knowledge of medicine, and the priest by his knowledge of incantations, should carefully and constantly protect the king from death caused by deranged humours or accidents. For this purpose Brahmā has revealed the Āyurveda composed of eight parts and forming a portion of the Vedas. The prudent physician should always act according to the wishes of the priest".¹ Here we see the combination of the duties of a physician and a priest, the latter being considered more important than the former.

IV. SOCIAL POSITION OF PHYSICIANS

(A) "Physicians" in Sanskrit Vocabulary

Differences exist between a *cikitsaka*, *bhīṣaj* and *vaidya*; one was more esteemed than the other, but from the legal point of view, as represented in the Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, there are no differences between the three expressions. These sources use the three words, mentioned above, indiscriminately; very often one of the words is defined by the other. For example Medh.² in defining a *cikitsaka* states *cikitsaka vaidyaḥ*. In this way Medh. considers that a *cikitsaka* is identical with a *vaidya*.³ The *bhīṣaj* is identified with a *vaidya* in Mit.⁴ and in Vir.⁵ The comparison between Mn.⁶ and Vi.,⁷ where in both cases wrong action (*mithyā*) of a physician is considered punishable, shows that both these Dharmaśāstra identify *bhīṣaj* and *cikitsaka*. Mn. uses the word *cikitsaka* while Vi. uses the word *bhīṣaj*. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that Āp. (I-6, 18, 21⁸ and I-5, 19, 15⁹) when repeating twice that food given by a physician must not

¹ According to U. C. Dutt's translation.

² Medh. (ad Mn. IX-259).

³ See also Maskari ad G. (XVII-15) in Government Oriental Library Series, *Bibliotheca Sanscrita* No. 50.

⁴ *Vaidyo vidvān bhīṣagvā* (Mit. ad Y. I-157, 158).

⁵ *Vaidyo bhīṣak vidyāvāniti (kecit)* (Vir. ad Y. I-157, 158).

⁶ *Cikitsakānām sarveṣām mithyāpracaratām damaḥ, amānuṣeṣu prathamam manuṣeṣu tu madhyamaḥ* (Mn. IX-284).

⁷ *bhīṣakmithyācarannuttameṣu puruṣeṣu* (Vi. V-175).

⁸ *bhīṣak*.

⁹ *Cikitsakasya mṛgayoḥ śalyakṛntasya pāśinaḥ, kulaśūdrāḥ śaṅghakasya ca teṣāmannamanādyam* (Āp. I-6, 19, 15).

be eaten, uses, in the first instance the word *bhiṣaj*, and, in the second instance, the word *cikitsaka*.¹ Āp., however, in I-6, 18, 21 uses his own words, while in I-6, 19, 15 he quotes some other authorities.² It can be admitted, therefore, that it was not the intention of Āp. to differentiate between a *bhiṣaj* and a *cikitsaka*

(B) Vaidya

Although the words *cikitsaka*, *bhiṣaj* and *vaidya* had the same meaning in the Dharmasāstra, it did not mean that they had the same meaning in daily life in Ancient India, or that a *cikitsaku* enjoyed the same importance and esteem as, for instance, a *vaidya*. Generally speaking, Ancient Indian literary works reveal wide differences in the importance of physicians.

The highest importance was attributed to the *vaidya*. After gaining in the knowledge of the Vedas³ a *vaidya* was said to have three births. In the absence of this knowledge the word *vaidya* could not be applied to any man. A *vaidya*, therefore, could not be born; he had to gain the knowledge of the Vedas and then could become a *vaidya*.⁴ A *vaidya* also had to know the scriptures (*śruti*) well, had to have wide experience, cleverness, and purity of both mind and body. These qualifications were regarded as the four principal ones of a *vaidya*.⁵ However in order to accomplish everything a person had to possess the following six qualifications: knowledge of the scriptures on the science of life, the faculty of reasoning from established proportions, acquaintance with other branches of knowledge, memory, cognisance of the treatment of disease and repeated experience in treatment. These qualifications can explain the etymology

¹ In addition—*śalyakṛnta*.

² *Atha purāṇe ślokaṁvudāharanti* (Āp. I-6, 19, 13). The first *pāda* is identical in Āp. (I-6, 19, 15) and Mn. (IV-212).

³ *Vidyāsamāptau brāhmaṇaṁ vā sattvamārjamaṭhāpi vā, dhruvamāviśati jñānāntasmādvaidyastrijaḥ smṛtaḥ* (Car. VI-3, 53. Compare Car. VI-1, 3, 52).

⁴ *Vidyāsamāptau bhiṣajastṛtiyā jātirucyate, aśnute vaidyaśabdāṁ hi na vaidyaḥ pūrvaśanmanā* (Car. VI-3, 52).

⁵ *Śruterpayavaddātvaṁ bahusō dṛṣṭakarmatā, dākṣyaṁ śaucamiti jñeyaṁ vaidye guṇacatuṣṭayam* (Car. I-9, 6).

of the word *vaidya* i e. knowledge, physician.¹ A person possessing these auspicious qualifications, in particular knowledge, deserved the designation of *vaidya*, which had thus been formed ; such a person was the giver of both life and happiness.²

(C) High Esteem Paid to Physicians

1. As emphasized before, we do not find in the Ancient Indian sources any demarcation line between the three categories of physicians, although a *vaidya* was certainly the highest of all, while the word *bhīṣaj* was mostly used for the designation of a king's physician. *Bhīṣaj* and *cikitsaku* were used indiscriminately. The general belief, however, was that physicians were held in high regard. The reason for this was the devotion of the physician to human beings. Hence we read in Car. :³ " He who thinking that compassion for creatures is the supreme virtue, devotes himself to treatment, has his ends (of life) accomplished and enjoys eternal felicity. " ⁴

Suś.⁵ states that the physician who gave treatment with the welfare of his patient at heart, was liked by good men, and had to attain virtue, wealth and fame, and finally heaven.

2. It follows that physicians had to be worshipped as gods. We read in Car.⁶ " those foremost of physicians, by these and diverse other acts (of success in treatment) become objects of worship the Aśvins, those celestial physicians, are worshipped with devotion by the deities with their chief (*scil.* Indra) at their head, they who are immortal, who transcend decrepitude, and who are

*Vidyā vitarko vijñānam smṛtistatparatā kriyā,
yasyaite ṣaḍguṇāstasya na sādhyamativartate.
Vidyā matiḥ karmadrṣṭirabhyāsaḥ siddhirāśrayaḥ,
vaidyāśabdābhinīṣpattāvalamekaikamapyataḥ (Car. I-9, 21, 22).*

² *Yasya lute guṇāḥ sarve santi vidyādayaḥ śubhāḥ,
sa vaidyāśabdāḥ sabbhūtamārhan prāṇisukhapradaḥ (Car. I-9, 23).*

³ *Paro bhūtagaṇaḥ dharma itī matvā cikitsayā,
vartate yaḥ sa siddhārtaḥ sukhamatyantamaśnute (Car. VI-13, 62).*

⁴ According to A. C. Kaviratna's translation.

⁵ Suś. (I-25 in fine).

⁶ *...mṛtyuvyādhijarāvāṣyairduḥkhaḥprāyaśiḥ sukhārtibhiḥ,
kim punarbhīṣajo martyaiḥ pūjyāḥ syurnātīśaktitāḥ.
Śilavānmatimān yuktastrijñātiḥ śāstrapāragaḥ,
prāṇibhīrguruvat pūjyaḥ prāṇācāryaḥ sa hi smṛtaḥ (Car. VI-1, 3, 50, 51).*

above change. Why then should not physicians be worshipped by men, to the best of their power, who are desirous of obtaining happiness. It has been declared that one who is preceptor of the science of Life, who is possessed of pure conduct, who is endued with intelligence, who is devoted (to the sciences he professes), who belongs to the regenerate orders, and who has thoroughly mastered the scriptures (bearing upon his science)-should be worshipped by all persons even as a *guru* is worshipped.”¹

It is also stated in *Suś* that learned physicians should be respected like kings. Salutations of reverence were the due of physicians “ who are conversant with the scriptures, possessed of cleverness, imbued with purity of behaviour and heart, skilled in treatment of disease, of practised hand, and with souls under complete control.”²

The high regard enjoyed by physicians is also evident from many literary works. Leumann³ states, for instance, that a physician who had been called by a merchant was accompanied to the door of the palace. The expression *kavirāja* (*kohirāj* of today), the king among sages, very often used to describe a physician, shows how highly he was esteemed.

3. According to the *Dharmaśāstra* physicians were highly esteemed. This is evident, for example, from *Mn.* (IV-179, 180) and *Y.* (I-157),⁴ where we read :

*Rtvikpurohitācāryairmātulātithisaṁśritaiḥ,
bālavrddhāturairvaidyairjñātisambandhibāndhavaiḥ.
Mātāpitṛbhyām jāmbhīrābhṛtrā putrena bhāryayā,
duhitrā dāsavargeṇa vivādān na samācaret,*⁵

and

*Mātṛpitṛtathibhṛtrājāmisambandhimātulaiḥ,
vrddhabālāturācāryavaidyasaṁśritabāndhavaiḥ.
Rtvikpurohitūpatyabhāryādāsasambandhibhiḥ,
vivādān varjayitvā tu sarvān lokāñjayedgṛhī.*⁶

¹ According to A. C. Kaviratna's translation.

² *Suś.* (I-24).

³ *Die Nonne* p. 438 sqq.

⁴ Similarly *MBh.* (*Sāntiparvan* 249, 14-17).

⁵ *Mn.* (IV-179, 180).

⁶ *Y.* (I-157, 158).

Mn. and Y. (and similarly MBh.) mention here *vaidya* *amōṅg rtvij*, *purohita*, father, mother, brother, son, wife, daughter, etc., and state that if all worlds were to be conquered quarrels with them had to be avoided.

Mit. (ad Y. I-157, 158) ¹ and Vir. (ad Y. I-157, 158) ² make it clear that the expression *vaidya* used in Y. should be interpreted to mean *bhiṣoj*. The same might be said *per analogiam* about Mn. and MBh. Thus, it is evident that, according to these Dharmaśāstra, a physician had to be honoured and esteemed, as had to be a *guru*, *purohita*, father, etc.

This high esteem and honour attributed to physicians was probably because they were considered useful and indispensable in a community. And so we find in Hit. (I-107) the following aphorism :

*Tatra mitra na vastavyam yatra nāsti catuṣṭayam,
ṛnadātā ca vaidyaśca śrotriyaḥ sajalā nadi,*³

and in Cānakya :

*Pañca yatra na vidyante tatra vūsaṁ na kārayet,
dhanikaḥ śrotriyo rājā nadi vaidyastu pañcamah.*⁴

Vi. ⁵ referring the whole chapter to a *snūtaka* also states: *na saṁvasedvaidyahine* (and he must not live in a kingdom in which there are no physicians). ⁶

¹ *Vaidyo vidvān bhiṣagvā.*

² *Vaidyo bhiṣak vidyāvāniti (kecit).*

³ One should not dwell there, oh friend, where these four things do not exist, viz., a creditor, a physician, a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas, and a river with water (ever flowing). (According to M. K. Kale's translation).

⁴ One should not dwell there where five things are lacking: a wealthy man, a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas, a king, a river and, as fifth, a physician. (Cānakya 36, *bei Haeb.* 315 and Śrīngāra Paddhati Galan. Varr. 292; in Boehtlingk's *Indische Sprueche* 1670).

⁵ Vi. (LXXI-66).

⁶ If this verse is compared with the foregoing and subsequent ones, the opposite might be assumed, i. e. that the physicians were considered low-class persons, since, in this context, Vi. mentions persons to be avoided by the *snūtaka* (Śūdra, king—64; wicked people—65; afflicted with disease—66, etc.). The similar verses to those of Vi. (i. e. Mn. VIII-60, 61; B. II-3, 51; Āp. XVI-22, XXXII-18) do not mention the physician. However it must be noted that Vi. uses the word *vaidya* i. e. *sage* and not e. g. *cikitsaka*, or *bhiṣaj*.

K. also realised that physicians as well as veterinarians were important, and induced them to migrate to a newly formed village, by endowing them with lands.¹

5. Kautīlya turns, the high esteem and honour attributed to physicians to his own advantage and to the better use of his machiavellian purposes. In K. we find very often mention of using physicians as spies.

Hence, we read in K. that some spies could be sent "under the disguise of physicians", etc.² in order to ascertain the nature of the intrigue prevalent among parties favourably disposed to his master, as well as the conspiracy among hostile factions, and in order to determine whether people were loyal or disloyal to the enemy, etc. Similarly the Collector General could employ spies disguised as physicians and send them abroad for espionage purposes.³

Spies disguised as physicians, could, in addition, be ordered to make a "seditious" minister, or another person "of seditious character" believe to be sick, and could contrive to poison him while prescribing medicines and diet.⁴

In order "to make peace and break it", spies disguised as physicians could set fire to a building filled with valuables.⁵

These are only some examples from K.⁶ to show that physicians were used as spies in the Mauryan machiavellian system

¹ *Adhyakṣasāṅkhyāyākāḍibhyo gopasthānikānikasthacikitsakāśvadamakajāṅghārikebhyaśca vikrayādhdhānavarjam* (K. 46, 10, 11).

² *Tayoranlevāsibhiścikitsakapāṣaṇḍavyaṅjanobhayavetanairvā* (K. 31 4 sqq.).

³ *Samāhartā janapade siddhatāpasappravrajitacakraacarāṇakuhaka pracchandakakārtāntikanaimittikamauhūritikacikitsakonmattomūkabodhiraja-ṇḍandhavaidehakakāruṣilpikuṣilavaveśaṇḍikāpūpikapāḍvamāṅsikaudanika-nyaṅjanān prañidadhyaṭ* (K. 210, 15-18, 1.).

⁴ *Cikitsakavyaṅjano vā daurūmikamasādhyaṁ vā vyādhiṁ dṛṣyasya sthāpayitvā bhaiṣajyāhārayogeṣu rasenāṭṭisandadhyaṭ* (K. 240, 3-4); *cikitsakavyaṅjano vā gadamagadāpadeṣena pratyāsanno vā dṛṣyasya satri prañihitamabhiṣekabhāṇḍamamitrasāsanom ca kṣapatikamukhena ācakṣitakāraṇaṁ ca brūyaṭ* (K. 246, 13-15).

⁵ *Ārakṣakaprotśahanena vā nāgarakakuṣilovacikitsakāpūpikavyaṅjanā vā rātrau samṛddhagṛhānyādāpayeyuḥ* (K. 316, 10-12).

⁶ Compare K. (31, 4).

of government, as described by Kautilya. In addition, these examples show that physicians (*cikitsaka*) were considered to be persons worthy of high esteem and the confidence of all.

The fact that the physician (*cikitsaka*) was considered as trustworthy is demonstrated by the fact that a physician could not be arrested for being near royal buildings or for ascending the fortifications of the capital, whereas, under law, such an offence was punishable.¹

6. Car. states, however, that not all physicians had to be worshipped, but only those who were characterised by equanimity, knowledge, and science.²

We find some examples in the Dharmaśāstra which also show that the physicians were not so highly esteemed. It is said, for instance, that food given by a physician should not be eaten. This is stated in Mn.³ Y.⁴ G.⁵ and Vās.⁶ which use the word *cikitsaka* to mean physician. Āp., being of the same opinion, uses the word *cikitsaka* and *śalyakṛnta*, as well as *bhiṣaj*⁷ probably in order to avoid misunderstanding as to the meaning of a "physician." It should be emphasized, however, that Āp. does not use word *vaidya* in this connection. Āp. feels that the physician's

¹ *Rājaparigrahopagamane nagararakṣārohaṇe ca madhyamassāhasa-daṇḍaḥ Sūtikācikitsakapretapradīpāyananāgarakatūryaprekṣāgninimittamudrābhīścāgrāhyaḥ* (K. 156, 5-7).

² Car. (II-8 in fine).

³ *Mattakruddhāturāṇāṃ ca na bhuñjita kadācana, keśakīṭayapannāṃ ca padā sprṣṭāṃ ca kāmataḥ* (Mm. IV-207).
Cikitsakasya... (Mn. IV-212).

⁴ *Adattānyagnihīnasya nānnamadyādanūpadi* (Y. I-160)
Cikitsaka... (Y. I-162)
Ētṣāṃ cikitsakādīnāmanāṃ nāśnīyāt (Mit. ad Y. I-162).

⁵ *Keśakīṭavapannam* (G. XVII-9)
Uṣṣṭapumścalyabhiśastānadeśyadaṇḍakatikṣakadaryabandhanikacikitsakamṛguyvanīṣuocāryucchiṣṭabhojigaṇavidviṣṭānām (G. XVII-17).

⁶ *Cikitsakamṛgayupumścalidaṇḍikastēnābhiśastaṣaṇḍhapatitānāmanna-mabhojyam* (Vās. XIV-2).

⁷ *Cikitsakasya mṛgayoḥ śalyakṛntasya pāśīnaḥ, kulāṭyāḥ ṣaṇḍhakasya ca teṣāmannamanādyam* (Āp. I-6, 19, 15)
Saṃghānnamabhojyam (Āp. I-6, 18, 16)
Bhiṣak (Āp. I-6, 18, 21).

6 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

food might be eaten, since he stands on a higher level than a *cikisaka*, *bhiṣaj*, and or *śalyakṛnta*. Vi. is also of the opinion that the food of a physician is unclean, but does not state it as clearly as do other Dharmasāstra. It is said in Vi. only that he who ate the food of a physician had to, as penance, subsist upon milk for seven days.¹

The only explanation of this prohibition of the eating of food given by physicians is given in Mn.² where it is stated that the food of a physician *cikitsaka* is as vile as pus. It is unclean, since physicians were considered, in this context, unclean persons, persons of a lower degree. The same is also evident from Mn., where it is stated that food given by a physician becomes pus and blood,³ Mn. uses here the word *bhiṣaj* and not, like in IV-220, the word *cikitsaka*.

It must be also emphasized that according to Vās.^{4 5} he who practised medicine could not be called a Brāhmaṇa and according to Mn.⁶ and Vi.⁷ the physicians had not to be invited to a *śrāddha*. Both these examples show that, in these contexts, the physician was not considered worthy of high esteem.

(To be continued)

¹ *Gaṇaganikāstenagūyanānmūni bhuktvā sapta-rātraṁ payasū varteta* (Vi. LI-7) ... *cikitsaka* ... (LI-10).

² *Pūyaṁ cikitsaksyūrnaṁ puṁśacalyūstvanamindriyam, viṣṭha vārdhuṣi-kasyūrnaṁ śastravikroyiṇo malum* (Mn. IV-220).

³ ... *bhiṣaje pūyaṣoṇitum* (Mn. III-170 ; according to other texts III-180). Identically MBh. (XIII-90, 13, 14).

⁴ Vās. (III-3).

⁵ See above.

⁶ *Cikitsakādevalc kāmāṁsavikroyiṇastathā, vipaṇena ca jivanto varjyūḥ syurhavyakavyayoḥ* (Mn. III-142 ; according to other texts III-152).

⁷ *Hinōdhikāṅgānvivarjayet* (Vi. LXXXI-3)
Cikitsakūn (Vi. LXXXII-9).

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN
DIETETICS—SOME REFERENCES TO THE USE
OF FRIED GRAINS IN INDIAN DIET—BETWEEN
B. C. 500 AND A. D. 1900

BY

P. K. GODE

In the Indian diet articles prepared from parched and fried grains are very common today. One of these articles is called *Civaḍā* which is a tasteful mixture of parched and fried gram and other grains with addition of salt, powdered chillies etc. As this preparation is very popular in Mahārāstra I had a mind to study its history in view of my interest in the history of Indian dietetics, on which I have already published some papers.¹ I propose in the present paper to record some historical notes on *Civaḍā* and its ingredients viz (1) *Pohe* (parched rice) and (2) *ḍāḷe* [parched pulse of gram (cicer)] etc.

The Marathi Dictionary *Śabdakośa* by Date and Karve (Poona, 1934) p. 1203 explains the word *Civaḍā* and derives it from Sanskrit *Civita*. The usage of "*Civaḍā*" is illustrated in this Dictionary by the following extract :—

— “ मूर्खाकरितां चिवडा होय । मजालसीचा । ”

— “ दारिद्र्ये चिवडाचि सर्व, दवडा थोरी वडा पावडा । ”

(आनंदतनय—सुदामचरित्र ५ — ed. by

Modak and Oka, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1891)

The *Madhyayugina Caritrakośa* (by S. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937, p. 105) contains an article on *Anandatanaya*, the author of the *Sudāmacaritra* referred to in the above extract. The exact

¹ These papers are :— (1) *History of Jalebi* [*New Indian Antiquary* Vol. VI (1943) pp. 169-181] and *History of Varāṇna* (*Jain Antiquary*, Vol. XII (Jan. 1947) pp. 1-8)—Both these articles have been translated into Marathi by my friend Prof. N. R. Phatak. These translations have been published in the *Āhāra* magazine, Bombay, edited by B. V. Tambe—(April 1947, pp. 25-29 and June 1947, pp. 25-30).

chronology of Ānandatanaya is not recorded in this article but from the information recorded in this article this author appears to belong to the 17th century. Mr. G. K. Chandorkar in his *Santa-Kavi-Kāvya-Sūci* (A. D. 1100-1740), Poona, 1915 gives a note on this author (pp. 9-10) but does not indicate his exact chronology.

The term *Civaḍā* mentioned by Ānandatanaya of the Deccan appears to have been current at Benares at the beginning of the 17th century. In fact Bhānuji Dīksita (Between A. D. 1600 and 1660), the son of the great grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dīksita (A.D. 1550-1620) mentions "*Civaḍā*" in his popular and learned commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*¹ (Between A. D. 500 and 800) as will be seen from the following extract (p. 367 of *Amarakoṣa* with Bhānuji's *Vyākhyāsudhā* N. S. Press, Bombay, 1905 — II *Kāṇḍa*, *Vaiśyavarga* 9) :—

Amara :—“ पृथुकः स्याच्चिपिटकः ”

Bhānuji explains :—“ प्रिति ॥ प्रशते । ‘ प्रथ प्रख्याने ’ (चु. उ. से.) ।

‘ पृथुकपाकाः ’ — (उ. ५।५३) इति साधुः ।

‘ पृथुकश्चिपिटोऽर्भके ’ — इति हेमचन्द्रः ॥ (१) ॥

नासिकाया नतम् ‘ इनचिपटाच्चिकाच्चि ’ (५।२।३३) ।

इति पिटच्, नेश्चिरादेशः । चिपिटमिव ।

संज्ञायां कन् (५।३.५५) । ‘ इवे ’ — (५।३।९६) इति वा कन् ॥ (२) ॥

दे ‘ चिचडा ’ इति ख्यातस्य ॥ ”

¹ *Amarakoṣa* (*Vaiśyavarga* of *Kāṇḍa* II) records the following articles of diet and allied terms :—

(1) मत्स्यण्डी, फणित, खण्डविकार = coarse or unrefined sugar

(*Bhānuji* :— “ राव ” इति ख्यातस्य)

(2) कूर्चिका, क्षीरविरुति = Inspissated milk

(*Bhānuji* :— “ किलाटिकायाः “ मावा ” इति ख्यातायाः) ”

(3) रसाला, मार्जिता = curds mixed with sugar and spices

(*Bhānuji* :— “ शिखरिण ’ इति ख्यातायाः ”)

(4) तेमन, निष्ठान = A sauce, condiment

(*Bhānuji* :— “ व्यञ्जनस्य ”)

(5) शूलाकृत, भटिन्न, शूल्य = Roasted meat

(continued on the next page)

The word चिवडा mentioned by Bhānuji C. A. D. 1630 is evidently derived from the Sanskrit word चिपिट, though the चिवडा of today is a mixture of many ingredients, while the चिपिट or पृथुक of *Amara* meant only parched rice (Marathi पोहे). We must now record evidence about the antiquity of *prithuka* or *cipita* in medical and non-medical texts. This evidence will show how and when the use of *parched grains* was made by the Aryans in

(continued from the previous page)

(Bhānuji :— “ लोहशलाकया पक्वमांसस्य ”)

(6) उरुव्य, पैठर = Flesh etc. boiled in a pot

(Bhānuji :— “ स्थालीसंस्कृतस्य अन्नदेः ”)

(7) प्रणति, उपसंपन्न = Anything cooked or dressed as a condiment

(Bhānuji :— “ पाकेन संस्कृतस्य व्यञ्जनादेः ”)

(8) प्रयस्त, सुसंस्कृत = “ द्रव्यान्तरसंस्कृतस्य पक्वस्य ” - (भानुजि)

(9) पिच्छिल, विजिल = “ मण्डयुक्त भक्त - जलयुक्त व्यञ्जनयोः ” - (भानुजि)

(10) चिकण, मसृण, स्निग्ध = “ स्निग्धस्य ” - (भा०)

(11) भावित, वासित = “ ग्राहित हिङ्गवादि गन्धस्य व्यञ्जनादेः ” - (भा०)

(12) आपक, पोलि, अभ्यूष = “ हणितयवादिर्भर्जितस्य ” - (भा०)

(13) लाजाः, अक्षताः = “ भृष्ट व्रीहादेः, केचित्तु असण्डतण्डुला अक्षताः इत्याहुः ” - (भा०)

(14) पृथुक, चिपिट = “ चिवडा ” - (भा०)

(15) घानाः, भृष्टयव = “ भर्जित यवानाम् ” - (भा०)

(16) पूष, अपूप, पिष्टक = “ अपूपस्य ” - (भा०)

(17) कर्म, दधिसक्तवः = “ दधिमिश्रसक्तुनः ” - (भा०)

(18) भिस्ता, भक्त, अन्धस्, अन्न, ओदन, दीदिवि = “ सिद्धान्नस्य ” - (भा०)

(19) भिस्ता, दधिका = “ दग्धोदनस्य ” - (भा०)

(20) सर्वरसाय, मण्ड = “ मण्डकस्य ” - (भा०)

(21) मासर, आचाम (Marathi पेज), निस्त्राव (Or' विस्त्राव according to रायमुकुट) = “ भक्षोज्ज्वमण्डस्य ” - (भा०)

(22) यवागू, उणिक्का, श्राणा, किलेपी, तरला = “ यवावाः ‘ लपसी ’ इति ख्यातायाः ” - (भा०)

Amara records further the terms for milk and milk-products. The above list of dietetic terms gives at a glance an idea of the common Indian diet and the processes of cooking, parching and frying etc. through which it passed more than 1500 years ago.

India. It will also show the continuity of this use through centuries of the history of Indian diet, which grew in variety and complexity owing to the varied climate, not to say the variety of agricultural and horticultural products that were grown in different parts of India to suit the needs of common men and the aristocracy of the different kingdoms of India. The Indian diet was further enriched by the addition of many foreign plants of economic and nutritive value, as also many foreign products that entered India by maritime and overland trade of India with greater India and other foreign countries. This is in short the historical back-ground of Indian diet as we have it today.

The *Carakasamhitā* (Before A. D. 300 : in its *Sūtrasthāna* Chap. 27 contains a section (No. 11) on *Kṛtānna* or cooked food (pp. 167-169 of *Carakasamhitā*, N. S. Press. Bombay, 1941). In this section called कृतान्नवर्ग¹ we get the following verse about पृथुकः—

— “पृथुका गुरवो भृष्टान् (v. l. बलयाः) भक्षयेदल्पशस्तु तान्
यावा विष्टभ्य जीर्यन्ति सरसा भिन्नवर्चसः ॥ २७३ ॥”

¹ I note below the names of different items of cooked food mentioned in this *Kṛtānnavarga* as they give us a fair idea of the cookery prevalent 2000 years ago:—

- (1) पेया = चटुद्रवा यवागूः (according to *Cakrapāṇi* = C)
- (2) विलोपिका = विरलद्रवा यवागूः (C)
- (3) मण्ड
- (4) लाजपेया
- (5) लाजमण्डः सुसंस्कृतः (“ धान्यकपिप्पल्यादिसुसंस्कृतः ” — C)
- (6) लाजसकवः
- (7) ओदन
- (8) भृष्टतण्डुल-ओदन
- (9) अधोतः (“ अधोततण्डुलरुतः ” — C)
- (10) ओदन made by using मांस, शाक, वसा, तैल, घृत, मज्जा, फल and माष, तिल, क्षीर, मुद्ग
- (11) कुल्माष — (“ यवपिष्टं उष्णोदकसिकं ईषत्स्विकं अपूपीकृतं कुल्माष आहुः ” — C)

(continued on the next page)

The commentator *Cakrapāṇidatta* (C. A. D. 1060) explains the above verse as follows :—

“पृथुकाः चिपिटाः । यावाः इति यवचिपिटाः, अन्ये तु गान्धार-
वंशप्रसिद्धान् संपिष्ट(v. 1. सपिष्टक)संज्ञानाहुः । सरसा
अभृष्टाः ॥ २७३ ॥”

• (continued from the previous page)

(12) सक्तवः

(13) यावकः वाट्यः — “ यवरुतः वाट्यः ” (C) ; वाट्यः = “ भृष्टयव-
ओदनः ” (C)

(14) यवापूप

(15) धानः — भृष्टयवः (C)

(16) विरूढधानाः — “ अङ्कुरितस्य यवस्य धानाः ” (C)

(17) शङ्कुल्यः — “ शालिपिष्टैः सतिलस्तेलपक्वाः ” (C)

(18) मधुक्रोडाः — “ पाकघनीभूत मधुगर्भाः ” and “ सपिष्टक पिण्डाः ” (C)

Cakrapāṇidatta states that मधुक्रोड = मधुशीर्षक and then quotes
नल as follows :— “ नलस्त्वाह—

विमर्यं समिताचूर्णं मृदुपाकं गुडान्वितम् ।
घृतावगाहे गुडिकां घृतां पक्वां सक्शराम् ॥
सौगन्धिकाधिवासां च कुर्यात्पूपलिकांबुधः ।
स एव सण्डसंयावः सिताघ्रातक पूरितः ॥
मातुलुङ्गत्वचा चैव वेष्टितो मधुशीर्षकः ॥ ”

I may here record the remarks of *Śrīkaṇṭhadatta* on the dishes (1) मधु-
मस्तक (2) संयाव and हविष्पूर in the following verse in *Vṛnda's Siddhayaoga*
(*Ānandāśrama San. Series, Poona, 1894, pp. 491-492*) :—

—“ आहारश्च विधातव्यः वातपित्तविनाशनः ।

मधुमस्तक—संयाव—हविष्पूरैश्च यः क्रमः ॥ ४५ ॥ ”

Śrīkaṇṭhadatta (C. A. D. 1240) observes :—

“ पाकघनीकृतमधुगर्भः गोधूमपिष्टकवेष्टितः पक्वः स चतुर्जन्तिकादि
भक्षविशेषः मधुमस्तकः । अन्ये तु गोधूमशामितां घृतयुक्तां तोयैर्मर्दयित्वा
घृतमपूर्य कृत्वा घृतेन पक्त्वा सितायुक्तं कुर्यादित्येष मधुमस्तकः । स च
लोकेषु मण्डक—अपरनामा ।

संयावो भक्ष्यविशेषः । तद्यथा—गोधूमशामितां जलदुग्धेन मर्दयित्वा
घृतोत्तरे सण्डे पक्त्वा मरिचैलाखण्डकपूरयुक्तां कुर्याद् इत्येष संयावः । एषां
भेदाः बहवः सूदशास्त्राद्विज्ञेयाः ।

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It appears from the above explanation that not only rice was parched and made into *prithuka* or *cipiṭa* but *yava* also was parched and made into *cipiṭa*. We also note with interest the alternative explanation of Caraka's "यावाः" as "parched *yava* known as *Sampiṣṭa* (v. l. *Sapiṣṭaka*) in the *Gāndhāra* country".

(continued from the previous page)

गोधूमपटशुद्धिकां क्षीरेण संमर्त्य सर्पिषा विस्तार्य पक्त्वा सितायुकां कुर्याद्
इत्येष हविष्पूरः, घेवर इति लोके ॥ २५ ॥ "

Possibly मधुक्रोड of Caraka = मधुमस्तक of Vṛnda (9th or 10th cent. A. D.)

= मधुशीर्षक of Nala (before A. D. 1000)

= मण्डक according to a view mentioned by
श्रीकण्ठदत्त (c. A. D. 1240)

= माण्डे (Marathi).

Apte in his Dictionary does not record either मधुक्रोड or मधुशीर्षक but he records मधुमस्तक (= a kind of sweetmeat made of honey, flour, oil and ghee) and मण्डक (= a very thin kind of cake — Marathi माण्डे). We must collect more evidence about these dishes of ancient and mediaeval India].

(19) पूषाः — (पिष्टिकाः — C); (20) पूषलिका — चापडिका (C)

(21) वेश्वार — ("सुदशाखे—' मांसं निरस्थि...वेशवार इति स्मृतः " — C)

(22) क्षीरक्षुरसपूषकाः — (क्षीरप्रधानाः पूषाः क्षीरपूषाः — C); शिवदाससेन
explains :— "क्षीरे इक्षुरसे च भाविताः पूषकाः "

(23) गौधूमिकाः, गौधूमपिष्टिकाः ।

(24) धानापर्वट पूषाः; (25) पृथुकाः; (26) यावाः

(27) सूप्यान्नविकृताः — मुद्रमाणादिविकाराः (C)

(28) रसाला — "रसाला लक्षणं — "स चतुर्जानकाजाजि ससिताद्रं कनागरम् ।
रसाला स्यात् शिखारिणी संघृष्टं ससरं द्वि " (C)

(29) पानकs or drinks made of द्राक्षा, सर्जूर, कोल, परूषक, क्षौद्र (Honey)
and इक्षुविकृति

(30) रागषाडव — (1) "कथितं तु गुडोपेतं सहकारकलं नवम् ।
तैलनागरसंयुक्तं विज्ञेयो रागषाडवः ॥

OR (2) "सितावन्नकसिन्धुस्थै सवृक्षाम्लपरुषकैः ।

जम्बूफलरसैर्युक्तो रागो राजिकऽन्वितः ॥

षाडवस्तु मधुराम्लद्रव्यकृतः । आक्ष-आमलक-लेह्यस्तु तयोः
पृथक्स्वाधेन सशर्करेण घनाः क्रियन्ते " । etc. (C)

(continued on the next page)

In the modern *Civaḍā*, *prthuka* or parched rice and *dāle* or parched pulse of *Caṇaka* (*cicer arietinum*) or gram are two main ingredients. The *Caraka-Saṁhitā* contains some references to the use of *Caṇaka* as an article of diet along with other pulses as I have pointed out in my paper on the history of *Caṇaka* published in the *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Vol. XXVII (1947) pages 56-82). Among these references there is no reference to the use of *parched Caṇaka*, with which I am concerned in the present study. The following stanza, however, shows that parched *Caṇaka* ' (भृष्ट चणक) was used in *Caraka's* time like parched rice and parched *yava* :—

Cikitsāsthāna, Chap. 20, verse 37 (p. 557 of N. S. Press Edition, 1941) —

(continued from the previous page)

In the *Cikitsāsthāna* (chapter 2 —वाजीकरण) *Caraka* records many recipes of food and medicine for stimulating amorous desires and invigorating the body. The recipes of food include the following items :— (1) घृणलिकाः ; (2) दध्नुः ; (3) वर्तिकाः (वर्तिकाः भक्ष्याः — C) ; (4) घृणः ; (5) घानाः (घानाकाराः भक्ष्याः) ; (6) रसाता ; (7) षष्टिकौदन ; (8) उत्कारिकाः etc. The following lines give the recipe of a curious *omelet* called दृढ्य-घृणलिका made of ghee, rice-flour, and the eggs of crocodile and hen :—

“ तमे सर्पिणि नकाण्डं ताम्रचूडाण्डमिश्रितम् ।
युक्तं षष्टिकूर्णेन सर्पिषाभिनवेन च ॥ २८ ॥
पक्त्वा घृणलिका खादेद्द्वारुणमण्डपो नरः ।
य इच्छेदश्ववङ्गनुं प्रसेक्तुं गजवच्च यः ॥ २९ ॥ ”

I note here a reference to चणकोदक in verse 31 of the *Sūtrasthāna* of *Carakasamhitā* (1941), p. 557 :—

“ निशिस्थितं वारि समुद्रकृष्णं
सोशीरधान्यं चणकोदकं वा ।
गवेधुकामूलजलं गुह्यया
जलं पिबेदित्युरसं पयो वा ॥ ३१ ॥ ”

There are references to *Caṇaka* in the *Vaikhānasya Kāśyapa Jñānakāṇḍa* (S. V. Ori. Series No. 12, Tirupati, 1948 ' pp. 33, 82, 138 and 139. The editor of this text Shri R. Parthasarathi Iyengar informs me in his letter of 7-8-48 that “ this *Kāśyapasamhitā* should date immediately after the *Vaikhānasa-kalpasūtra* ”, the “ earliest mention of which is found in the *Bodhāyana-sūtra* ” “ The *Vaikhānasa-kalpasūtra* and the *Saṁhitā* date earlier to the *Bodhāyana* period. ”

“मुद्गान्मसूराञ्चणकान् कलायान्
भृष्टान् युताञ्जागरमाक्षिकाभ्याम् ।
लिह्यात्तथैव त्रिफला विडङ्ग—
चूर्णं विडङ्गप्लवयो रथो वा ॥ ३७ ॥”

In my elaborate paper on *Canaka* referred to above, I have referred to the following points:—

(1) *Canaka* (*Erebinthos* of the Greeks and *Harimanthia* of *Suśruta*, and *Cicer* of the Romans) was known in Homer's time (Between B. C. 1000 and 850).

(2) The Western Aryans (Hellenes) carried it to India possibly during the Greek occupation of the Punjab (B. C. 190 — c. A. D. 20).

(3) The earliest medical texts of *Caraka*, *Bhela*, *Suśruta* and *Kāśyapa* (composed between about B. C. 200 and A. D. 300) refer to *Canaka* as an edible grain.

(4) The references to *Canaka* as horse-food occur in texts composed later than A. D. 500.

In my account of the history of *Canaka* I have noted only one reference to the use of the *parched seed* of *Canaka* by the poor in Rome. This reference is given by the Roman poet *Horace* (B. C. 65 — B. C. 8) and hence is very important for my present inquiry about the use of parched *Canaka* seeds by the Aryans in India. Evidently when *Canaka* was introduced into India by the Western Hellenes or Greeks with all its uses as edible grain, the Indian Aryans were already familiar with the use of other *parched*¹ grains like *rice* and *yava* (*bhr̥ṣṭa taṇḍula* and *bhr̥ṣṭa yava*).

¹ Kautilya in his chapter XV of Book II of the *Arthashastra* refers to the processes of *pounding*, *fraying*, *reducing to flour*, *frying* or *drying* of different grains (see p. 101 of Eng. Trans. by Dr. Shamasastry, 1929). This chapter deals with “*The Superintendent of the Store House*.” I note from this chapter the following extracts pertinent to my present inquiry:—

Page 101—“The Superintendent shall also personally supervise the increase or diminution sustained in grains, when they are *pounded* (घुण्ण), or *frayed* (घृष्ट), or *reduced to flour* (पिष्ट), or *fried* (पृष्ट) or *dried after soaking in water*.” (Possibly पृथुक was known to Kautilya as he mentions the processes used in preparing such kinds of food).

I note for reference some of the articles of food mentioned in the above chapter:— flour, oil, sugar from sugarcane, salt, clarified butter, oil (from
(continued on the next page)

called "*pr̥thuka*" in the *Carakasamhitā* and "*pr̥thuka*" and "*Cipita*" (= *Civaḍā* according to Bhānuji Dikṣita c. A. D. 1630) in the *Amarakośa* (Between A. D. 500 and 800). It is, therefore, natural that we should find a reference to "मृष्टान् चणकान्" in the *Carakasamhitā* as quoted by me above.

The *Suśrutasamhitā* (before A. D. 300) also refers to *pr̥thuka* and other parched edibles¹ in chapter 46 of its *Sūtrasthāna* (sections called "कृतान्नवर्ग" and "भक्ष्यवर्ग"—pages 238-244 of N. S. Press Edition, 1938). The verse referring to *pr̥thuka* (chap. 46, verse 415) reads as follows:—

(continued from the previous page)

flesh and plants). jaggery, granulated sugar, sugarcandy, honey of the bee, grapejuice, fruits of jambu, jack-tree, essence of *meṣaśrṅga*, long pepper, *virbhiṭa*, cucumber, mango, sugarcane, fruit of myrobalam, fruits of *karamarda*, *vidalāmālaka*, *mātuluṅga*, *kola*, *badara*, *sauvira*, *parūṣaka*, curds, acid from grains, black pepper, ginger, cumin seed, *kirāta-tikta*, white mustard, coriander, *coraka*, *damanaka*, *maruvaka*, *śigru*. Dried fish, *kodrava vrihi*, *śālī*, *varaka*, *priyaṅgu*, *camasī*, *mudga*, *māṣa*, *śaibya*, *masūra*, raw flour, *kulmāṣa*, barley gruel, baked flour, *udāraka*, grains (moistened, soaked to sprouting condition, fried), *fried rice*, oils from *ataśī*, *nimba* *kuśāmra*, *kapittha* and *tila*, *kusumba*, *madhūka*, *ingudī*; unsplit rice, *sūpa*, dressed flesh, vegetables, dried fish; cooked barley and oil-cakes (*ghāṇa-piṅyāka*) and bran (*kaṅgakuttāna kuṇḍaka*) for bullocks; cooked rice for dogs; bran and flour (*kaṇikā*) for slaves, labourers and cooks; cooked rice and rice-cakes.

As regards the instruments used in connection with the store-house *Kauṭilya* mentions (1) weighing balance, (2) weights, (3) measures, (4) mill-stone (*rocānī*), (5) pestle, (6) mortar, (7) wooden contrivances for pounding rice etc. (*kuttaka-yantra*), (8) contrivances for splitting seeds into pieces (*rocaka-yantra*), (9) winnowing fans, (10) sieves (*cālunikā*), (11) grain-baskets (*kandolī*), (12) boxes and (13) brooms. *Kauṭilya* also states that grains are heaped on the floor, jaggery (*kṣāra*) is bound round in grass rope (*mūta*), oils are kept in earthen-ware or wooden vessels and salt is heaped on the ground.

According to commentary कटुकयन्त्र is like the neck of a camel, and रोचक-यन्त्र (worked by man, bullocks and by water) is a contrivance to reduce grain into flour.

¹ Edibles in *Suśrutasamhitā* (कृतान्नवर्ग and भक्ष्यवर्ग) are as follows:—

(1) लाजमण्ड (पिप्पलीनागरायुतः) *Dallaṇa* (C. A. D. 1100) explains

"कृतान्न" as "संस्कृतान्न" or "साधितान्न"

(2) पेया = यबागुः (*Dallaṇa* = D)

(3) विलेपी (यबागु) = घनसिक्थि and लेप्सा

(continued on the next page)

Page 213—"पृथुका गुरवः क्षिग्धा बृंहणा कफवर्धनाः ।

बलयाः सक्षीरभावासु वातघ्ना भिन्नवर्चसः ॥ ४१५ ॥"

Dallana explains "पृथुकाः" as follows :--

"आर्द्रशालिधान्यं मृदुभृष्टं मुरालाघातचिप्पटीभूतावयवं
पृथुका" इति उच्यते ।

(rice seeds when moist are slightly parched and flattened
by the strokes of a pestle to form पृथुक)

(continued from the previous page)

D quotes the following verse for distinguishing पेया from
यवागू :--

"अन्नं पञ्चगुणे तोये, यवागूं षड्गुणे पचेत् ।

चतुर्दशगुणे मण्डं, पिलेपीं तु चतुर्गुणे ॥"

(4) पायसः (दुग्धतण्डुलसिद्धः -- D)

(5) रुशरा (तिलतण्डुलमाषरुता यवागूः -- D)

(6) ओदन (भक्त -- D) of two kinds धौत and अर्धौत. Also

ओदन prepared by combination with स्नेह (like घृत) मांस, कल,
कन्द, विदल (शमीधान्यावयव), and क्षीर

(7) ईषत् भृष्टः सूपः (prepared from भर्जित मुद्ग, माष etc.) -- D

(8) मांस (in combination with घृत, गोरस, धान्याल, फलाल, कटुक (मरिच)
-- These are varieties of " तलित मांस " -- D)

-- परिशुक्र and सुरभिद्रव्यसंस्कृत and उल्लसपिष्ट. These are
the varieties of मांस according to पाचकाः (सूपकाराः)
i. e. Cooks.

-- भर्जित मांस (fried in ghee etc.)

-- कन्दुपाचित मांस defined

(9) मांसरस described as शुक्रद and बलवर्धन

(10) खानिष्क (= a kind of वेसवार -- D)

(11) वेसवार defined

(12) रागवाड्य

(13) यूष and its varieties like खड (सतकशमी धान्य and सतकशाक -- D)

and कम्बलिक (दधि-अम्ल-तिल-माष-लवण-स्नेह-युतः -- D)

(14) खडयवागूः (a combination of खड and यवागू.)

(continued on the next page)

This method of preparing *prthuka* described by Dallana about 850 years ago has remained unchanged in some parts of India today. At any rate it is now current in the *Konkan* area which produces rice as a major crop. The *prthukas* (*pohe*) of *Konkan* are famous in *Mahārāstra* for their flavour and in every household in *Konkan* they are used for break-fast in combination with

(continued from the previous page)

- (15) शुष्कशाक and its kinds :-- (i) तिलविकृति, (ii) पिण्याकविकृति, (iii) विरूढक, (iv) सिण्डाकी (" मूलकादि शाकमेव किञ्चित् स्विन्नं क्षुण्णं सुगन्धिकटुकद्रव्यान्वितं वटकीकृतं " is called " सिण्डाकी " in the country of सुहस -- according to other view " शाकसिक्थमण्डासुतिः " is called " सिण्डाकी " -- D)

(16) सिण्डाकी-वटकार्णि

(17) रसाला (शिखरिणी -- D)

(18) सगुड-र्द्ध

(19) सक्तुमन्थ and its combinations with अम्ल, स्नेह, गुड, शर्करा, इक्षुरस, द्राक्षा, मधूदक etc.

(20) पानक (prepared from गुड, तिन्त्रिडीक, मरिच, हिम, कर्पूर, सण्ड, मृद्रीका, शर्करा, परूषक, कोल -- D)

(II) मक्ष्यवर्ग

(1) घृतपूगः (" घेव(उ)र " इति लोके -- D)

(2) गोडिकाः (" समितावोष्टिताः गुडमधानोद्गाः " -- D)

(3) मधुशीर्षकाः [समितावोष्टिताः पाकघनीभूताः मधुगः घृतोद्गाः मधुमस्तकाः = मधुशीर्षकाः -- (D)]

(4) संयावाः (समितां मधुदुग्धेन मोदयित्वा सुशोभनाम् ।

पचेद्घृतोत्तरे सण्डे क्षिपेद्गण्डे नवे ततः ॥

संयावोऽसौ युतश्चूर्णैः सण्डैलामरिचाद्रंभैः " -- D)

(5) पूषाः (" पूषा " -- D)

(6) मोदकाः (लड्डुकाः -- D)

(7) सट्टकाः (many kinds according to D, who describes one kind as follows :--

" लवङ्गयोषसण्डैस्तु दधि निर्मथ्य गालितम् ।

दाडिमीबीजसंयुक्तं चन्द्रचूर्णावचूरितम् ॥

सङ्घकं सुप्रमोदाख्यं नलादिभिर्दुह्यतम् । ")

(continued on the next page)

various edibles like curds, butter-milk, milk and molasses, oil and chillies etc. They are very useful to people going on a long journey as they can be preserved for several months and eaten with relish by the young and the old alike. We may, therefore, look upon *prthukas* as a great ancient heritage with a continuity of more than 2000 years unlike some other dishes, mentioned by *Caraka* and *Sutruta*, which have not survived in their original form and character.

(continued from the previous page)

(We know सटुक as a minor drama in Prakrit. Has this term anything to do with the dish सटुक ?)

(8) विष्यन्दः (घृतभ्रष्टण्डुलाः according to one view ; another explanation of विष्यन्द is as follows :—

“ आम गोधूम चूर्णं च सर्पिः क्षीर गुडाम्बितम् ।

नातिसान्द्रो नातिघनो विष्यन्दो नाम नामनः ॥ ”

(9) फेनकाः (prepared from समिता (= गोधूम चूर्ण wheat flour as described below :—

“ विमर्यं विमलां शुक्लां समितां नातिशर्कराम् ।

संवेष्टनाय गर्भार्थं सरपाकं घृते पचेत् ॥

फेनकं फेनसङ्काशं संपूर्णशशिसन्निभम् ॥ — D)

(10) सामिताः (prepared from समिता and stuffed with वेसवार (स्विन्नपिष्ट-मुद्गादिकल्क) etc. — D)

— (समिताः prepared from पलल (= तिलपिष्ट) and गुड are called पाललाः — D)

(11) शकुल्यः (= “ शांकुली ” — D)

(12) पैष्टिकाः (तण्डुलपिष्टकृताः — D)

(13) वैदलाः (मुद्गादिकृताः — D)

(14) कूर्चिकाः (विम्रथितं क्षीरं घनत्वमापन्नं is called कूर्चिका and preparations from it are “ कूर्चिका विरुताः ” — D)

(15) विरुद्धकृताः भक्ष्याः (prepared from अङ्कुरितमुद्ग etc. — D)

(16) घृततैलपक्वभक्ष्याः (17) भक्ष्याः dressed with कल, मांस, इक्षुविरुति, तिल, माष etc. — (“ कलानि तालादीनि ” — D)

(18) कपालाङ्गारपक्वभक्ष्याः — (like मण्डक (कपालपक्व) and अङ्गार-कर्कटी (अङ्गारपक्व) — D)

(continued on the next page)

The *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (C. A. D. 625 according to Hoernle) contains the following references to *pṛthuka* :—

Sūtrasthāna (ed. by Ramchandra Shastri Kinjavadekar, Poona, 1940) chapter 7 (अन्नस्वरूपविज्ञानीय) verse 56.

Page 48 — “ पृथुका गुरवो बलयाः कफविष्टम्भकारिणः ॥ ५६ ॥ ”

The commentator *Indu* observes :—

“ पृथुका गुरुत्वादियुक्ताः । हरितधान्यानि सतुषभृष्टमुसला-
हतानि पृथुकशब्दवाच्यानि । ”

(continued from the previous page)

(19) किलाटः (= क्षीर कूर्चिकापिण्डः -- D)

(20) कुम्भाषाः (= (1) यवपिष्टं उष्णोदके सिक्तं ईषत् स्विन्नमृदितम्
शृङ्गादि प्रकारं or (2) यवादयः स्विन्नाः -- D)

(21) वाट्यः (1) यवगोधूमादिभिर्दलितैः कृतः or (2) भृष्टयवकृतः -- D)

(22) धानाः (भृष्टयावः) ; (23) उलुम्बाः (होलकाः) (-- “ मुद्ग-
कलायादि शिम्बाः अम्लपक्वाः “ होलका ” इति उच्यन्ते ” -- D)

(24) शक्तवः (यवशक्तवः) ; (25) बकूना अवलेहिका

(26) लाजाः (लाजशक्तवः) ; (27) पृथुकाः ; (28) ताण्डुलपिष्टम्

In the Anup Sanskrit Library (Bikaner) there is a rare MS of a work called the *Rājavinoda* written by Sadāśiva Dhātṭa for Rao Kalyanmalji of Bikaner (A. D. 1542-1571). A chapter of this work dealing with cookery is called *Pākataraṅga*. This chapter describes in detail the preparation of several dishes such as (1) खण्डिता, (2) पत्रवटी, (3) मापमुद्गेण्डयौ, (4) शुष्कटी, (5) पानक, (6) छिन्नपानक or छेनापन्ना, (7) गगखाण्डव, (8) रसाला or शिखरिणी (Marathi श्रीखण्ड), (9) वासवती, (10) निम्बादिसंधान, (11) गोधूम फेणिका, (12) नवनीत फेणिका, (13) माषफेणी, (14) दधि-
लाडुक, (15) शालुकलडुक, (16) बिन्दुमोदक prepared from चाणक चूर्ण and ताण्डुल चूर्ण (= बुंदीलाडू ?), (17) कूष्माण्डादि बीजमोदक, (18) क्षीरमोदक, (19) स्वावुक, (20) बुधमण्डक, (21) लापसी, (22) चन्द्रहासा लपसिका, (23) शुद्ध घेवर, (24) कसेर घेवर, (25) आभरस घेवर, (26) दधियटिका, (27) जलेबी (also called कुण्डली, कुण्डलिका, जलवळिका), (28) मण्ड, (29) इन्दुरसा, (30) सक्तु, यवसक्तु, (31) यवचणकसक्तवः powdered, fried in ghee and mixed with sugar), (32) चिपिटकाः (or पृथुकाः), (33) विलेपी, (34) पेया, (35) मण्ड. (Vide K. M. K. Sarma's article on *Rājavinoda*, pages 153-164 of *Adyar Library Bulletin*, October 1948—Besant Number).

Indu¹ (between A. D. 700 and 900) states that green unhusked grains, parched and beaten with pestle are called *prthuka*. This explanation is practically repeated by Dallana (c. A. D. 1100) in explaining "*prthuka*" mentioned in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as we have seen above. While Indu makes the term applicable to any green grain (*हरितधान्यानि*), Dallana confines his meaning to rice

¹ As regards the date of Indu's commentary called "*Śaṣilekhā*" see my paper in the *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1945), Vol. XXV, pp. 225-238. As this commentary is earlier than those of *Cakrapāṇidatta* (c. A. D. 1060) on *Caraka* and *Dallana* (C. A. D. 1100) on *Suśruta*, it has a special testimonial value in understanding some early technical terms copied by Vāgbhaṭa I in his *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha*. I, therefore, note below the names of food preparations mentioned by Vāgbhaṭa I in the कृतान्नवर्ग of chapter 7 of *Sūtrasthāna* and indicate Indu's explanations of these names in some cases:—

(1) मण्ड- (= पेज Marathi — Kinjavadekar)

(2) पेया- (= लापशा Mar. — Do —)

(3) विलेपी- (= आटवल Mar. — Do —)

(4) ओदन- (= भात Mar. — Do —)

(5) मांसरस, (6) मौद्गरस, (7) कौलथरस, (8) माषसूप,

(9) खल and काम्बलिक — Kinjavadekar makes the following

remarks on these two kinds of यूप:—

खल is of two kinds:— (1) सतक्रशमीधान्य and (2)

सतक्रशक.—सतक्रशक is defined as follows:—

“ कपित्थनक्रचाङ्गेरी मरिचाजाजी चित्रकैः ।

सुपकः खलयूपोऽयमथ काम्बलिकोऽपि ।

दध्यम्ललवणस्नेहतिलमाषसमन्वितः । ”

Jejjala defines खल as follows:—

“ दधिदाडिममाषशकस्नेहयुक्तं व्यञ्जनं खलः । ”

Nala (a writer on cookery) explains खल as follows:—

“ तिलं सुलुञ्चितं रुषा पिष्टं क्षीरे ज्यहेपितम् ।

पटे पूतं पचेद्दीमानार्द्रकावापिते घृते ।

मरीचाजाजी सामुद्ध्युक्तस्तिलखलो भवेत् । ”

Nala (as quoted by *Dallana*) explains काम्बलिक as follows:—

“ दधिमस्त्वम्लसिद्धस्तु यूपः काम्बलिकः स्मृतः ।

पुनः सौवर्चलाजाजीबीजपूरकसौरभैः ।

संयोज्य मथितः स्वच्छ एष काम्बलिको भवेत् । ”

(continued on the next page)

grains (आर्द्रशालिधान्यं) only. We may compare Indu's explanation of *prthuka* with the expression "मक्याचे पोहे" (*prthukas* prepared from maize) which is getting current in Mahārāṣṭra at present owing to large quantities of maize from America imported into India to make up national food deficiency. Maize was of course unknown in Indu's time as it was introduced into India some-time after A. D. 1500 as I propose to show in a special paper.

(continued from the previous page)

- (10) रस is prepared from पिशित (= मांस); यूप is prepared from धान्य; and सल is prepared from फल
- (11) काबलिक is prepared by using मूलनिल, and तिलकस्क with अम्ल (of दाडिम etc.—Indu)
- (12) रुत (= रस etc. "स्नेहादिभर्जनेन शुण्ठ्यादिना च संस्कृतः")
- (13) अरुत (opposite of रुत)
- (14) दकलावणिकाः ("स्वल्पेन मांसेन स्वल्पैश्च शुण्ठ्यादिभिः क्रियन्ते स्वच्छाः ते रसादयः दकलावणिकाः")
- (15) तिलपिण्याकविरुति
- (16) शुष्कशाक (17) विरूढक (अंकुरितानि भृष्टानि सस्यानि)
- (18) चाण्डाकी वटकम् (चाण्डाक्या सहसासुतं मुद्गादिवटकम्)
- (19) रागषाडवाः (रागाः सितामध्वादि कृताः, षाडवाः अम्ल-सिद्धशाकशर्करादि कृताः)
- (20) मन्थ (see *Suśruta, Sūtrasthāna*, chap. 46, verses 385-387)
- (21) रसाला (कर्मयितेन मरिचशर्करादि संयुक्तेन च दध्ना कृता) Marathi श्रीखण्ड
- (22) पानक (यथाद्रव्यगुण) and स्वसंस्कारद्रव्यगुण, see सुश्रुत (सूत्र chapter 46, verses 388-391)
- (23) पृथुकाः (24) धानाः (भृष्टधान्यानि)
- (25) सक्तवः (पिण्डी and अवलेहिका) — सक्तवः कर्कन्धुबदरादीनां
- (26) वेशवारः (नागरधनिकाजाज्यादि संस्कृतं मांसम्) — मुद्गादि वेशवार (called पूरण)
- (27) अपूपाः (1) ककूलपक, (2) कर्परपक, (3) आपूपक (4) कन्दुपक, (5) अङ्गारपक — कुकूलः = पाण्यस्वेदः कर्पर = ज्वालासंतप्त; कन्दुः = अङ्गारतप्ता भित्तिः) भाष्ट्र- (= सच्छिद्रं कर्परम् — Kinjavadekar)

Page 68— (Sūtrasthāna, ch. 7, verse 219)

— “भृष्टः क्षुण्णोऽपि पृथुकः रक्तशालेर्लघांगुरुः ।”

Indu :— “भृष्टो मुसलच्छिन्नश्च पृथुकः ।” etc.

Page 121— (Sūtra, ch. 10, 87)

— “औकलाभ्योष पृथुकान् सुपिष्टकृत तण्डुलान् ।

न जातु भुक्तवानयान्मात्रयाऽयात् सुकाङ्क्षितः ।

Indu :— “औकुलं काण्डस्थान्यपक्वानि भृष्टानि सस्यानि ”

From the data recorded so far from the *Carakasamhitā*, *Suśruta-samhitā* and the *Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha* of Vāgbhata I, we have a fair idea of ancient Indian cookery, say between about B. C. 100 and A. D. 650. Whether पृथुक¹ was known to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* cannot be said at present, as I have not examined these Epics² from the point of view of my present inquiry.

¹ The *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* (ed. by Rajaguru Hemarāja of Nepal, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1938), is one of the earliest medical texts like those of *Caraka* and *Suśruta*. This *Kāśyapasaṃhitā* mentions *prthuka* in its chapter 16 on “अम्लपित्तचिकित्सित” (p. 305) as follows :—

“भृष्टधान्यपुलाकां पृथुकानां तथैव च ॥ ५ ॥

भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा दिवास्वप्नादतिज्ञानावगाहनात् ।

.....वातादयः प्रकुप्यन्ति..... ॥ ”

Evidently the frequent use of *prthukas* by ancient Indians resulting in certain ailments is referred to in the above extract.

² C. V. Vaidya in his chapter V of *Epic India* (Bombay, 1933, pages 103-121) deals with Food in the *Mahābhārata*. Some points from this chapter may be noted here :—

(1) Reference to the eating of “rice cooked with flesh and clarified butter; whether the flesh be that of a bull or a ram” in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* of the Vājasaneyins.

(2) At the *Aśvamedha* of Yudhiṣṭhira many birds, brutes and oxen were sacrificed.

(3) Action and reaction against the sacrifice of animals noticeable in the different parts of the *Mahābhārata*.

(4) Prohibition of cow-slaughter and its history is shrouded in darkness. At the beginning of the Epic period cow and bull sacrifices were common. At the end of this period the popular feeling was growing against such slaughter.

(5) The Brahmins gave up liquor during the Epic period. This reform began in the Gangetic valley. The people of Punjab, however, used beef and wine (“धानागौडयासवं पीत्वा गोमांसं लभुनैः सह । अपूपमांसवाट्यानामाशिनः शीलवर्जिताः ॥ ११।२२ ॥ कर्णपर्वन् ”)

(continued on the next page)

The *Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra* (ed. by Bühler, B. S. Series, 3rd Edition, Poona, 1932, p. 3.) refers to पृथुक along with other eatables in the following Sūtra (I, 5, 17, Sūtra 19) :—

“ काणित-पृथुक-तण्डुल-करम्भ रुजस भक्तु-शाकमौस-पिष्ट-
क्षीरविकारोपनिवनस्पतिमूलफलवर्जम् ॥ १९ ॥ ”

The commentator Haradatta explains some of the words in the above Sūtra as follows :—

- (1) काणित—पानविशेषः, इक्षुरसः इति केचित् ।
- (2) पृथुक तण्डुलाः—भृष्टानां व्रीहीणां तण्डुलाः पृथक्कृताः ।
- (3) करम्भः—दधिसक्तुसमाहारः करम्भ इति प्रसिद्धः ।
वेदे अपि उभयं भवति । “ यत्करम्भै जुहोति घानाः
कारम्भाः परिवाप ” इति ।
- (4) भृष्टाः—भृष्टाः यवाः
- (5) क्षीरविकारः—दधि and others

The *Bodhāyāniya-Gṛhya-Śeṣa-Sūtra*¹ (ed. by Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1920) mentions पृथुक in the following extract (p. 208--I, 16, 34) :—

(continued from the previous page)

(6) The सरस्वती उपाख्यान in the शल्यपर्वन् refers to the practice of the *Sārasvata Brahmins* viz. fish-eating, now current.

(7) Food at the close of the Epic period :—

“ आढ्यानां मांसपरमं मध्यानां गोरोत्तरम् ।

तैलोत्तरं दग्धिनां भोजनं भरतर्षभ ॥ ४९।३४। उद्योगपर्वन् ”

“ ये यवाञ्चा जनपदा गोधूमान्ना स्तथैव च ।

तान् देशान् संश्रयिष्यन्ति युगा ते पर्युपस्थिते ॥ ४९।१०० ॥ वनपर्वन् ”

¹ Dr. Shama Sastri thinks that this Sūtra (i. e. शेषसूत्र) was composed by some pupil of Bodhyāyana. It may have been composed after the Christian era (क्रिस्तोत्तर काले — p. vi of Introduction). I cull some notes from this text :—

(1) Page 206 — Several kinds of *Odana* are mentioned such as—

गुळोदन, घृतोदन (also घृतपायस), क्षीरोदन, दध्नोदन, तिलपिष्ट-
मिश्रमाषोदन, मांसोदन, चित्रोदन.

(2) P. 230 — “ निष्क सहस्रं ”

(3) — “ त्रिपुण्ड्र ” and “ एकपुण्ड्र ” for a Brahman, वर्तुळाकारं for a
राजन्य and अर्धचन्द्राकृति for a वैश्य

(continued on the next page)

“ लाजा—अपूप—पृथुकायुपहारांश्च दत्त्वा नमस्कृत्य ’ etc.

Elsewhere (p. 205) in this work we get a reference to चणक in the following verse :—

“ यवा आढक्यस्तण्डुला इयामाका मुद्गमेव च ।

चणकास्तिलमाषाश्च कुलुत्थाश्च क्रमात् क्षिपेत् ॥ १७ ॥ ”

Along with the use of fried grains in Indian diet the sale of fried grains either in shops or through hawkers came into vogue. The history of this trade can be easily reconstructed if we succeed in collecting references to it in ancient and mediæval sources. In this connection I note below some references which would be useful for pursuing a study of this topic further :—

(1) The *Rājavyavahārakośa* by Raghunātha Paṇḍita (c. A. D. 1676) composed by the order of the Marathā King Shivaji

[continued from the previous page]

(4) P. 258 — कसरपायसगुळोदन, हरिद्रोदन (see also p. 268)

(5) P. 258 — “ वनस्तिरसीधूपो धूपेभ्यो धूप उत्तमः ”

(6) P. 265 — याक्षिकवृक्षाः — शमी, पलाय, सार्दार, चिल, अम्वथ, विककृत,
न्यग्रोध, पनस, आम्र, शिरीष, उडुम्वर

(7) P. 266 — एला, लवंग, कर्पूर, तकोल

(8) P. 269 — Worship of महादेव प्रतिकृत

(9) P. 276 — “ कपिलाया वं क्षीरं श्वेतायास्त वरं दधि ।

रक्ताया वरमाज्यं वै शेषौ शबलकृष्णयोः ॥ ”

(10) P. 277 — नारिकेर, आमलक

(11) पञ्चामृत defined :— “ नारिकेरान्नपनसकदलीनां फलत्रयम् ।

शर्करामधुसंयुक्तं पञ्चामृतमिति स्मृतम् ॥ ”

(12) *Bhagavadgītā* quoted (P. 282)— “ तदाह भगवान् —

पन्नं पुष्पं फलं तोयं यो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ।

तदहं भक्त्युपहृतमश्रामि प्रयतत्मान इति ॥ १ ’

(13) P. 286 — दुर्गाकल्प

(14) P. 297 — अपूप, करम्भमोदक, पायसम् etc. mentioned in the विनायककल्प
in which विनायक is called हस्तिमुख

(15) P. 319 — सहस्रभोजनविधि (16) P. 364 — तुलसी, चिल

(17) P. 374 — वनरपति होम — क्रमुक, पनस, नारिकेर, कदली

(18) P. 254 — पुनर्विवाह

the Great refers to the *Phuṭāṅgār* (फुटाणगार) whose business it is to prepare fried grains and sell them :—

“आरालिको भटारी स्याद् भर्जकस्तु फुटाणगार ।

आपूपकः शिरींगारो भुसारी धान्यविक्रयी ॥ ३७७ ॥ ”

vide p. 31 of रा. व्य. कोश, Poona, 1880 – पण्यवर्ग, verse 377)

Even today the fried-grain seller (or *Phuṭāṅgē wāllā*) carries on his trade either in streets or in shops¹ from morn till midnight.

(2) Francis Buchanan in his *Patna-Gaya Report*, Vol. II (A. D. 1811-12) published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society of Patna refers to the trade in parched grains etc. as follows :—

Page 636 -- “ The persons called *Khanchahwalehs* make several kinds of sweetmeats and *parch* some kinds of pulse. I have not learned their operations, but they are poor and retail their commodities in the streets.

Those who parch *pulse* and *maize* are called *Bharbhuna* or *Chabena furosh* and are much employed. They are all women ; many of them however young, and generally sit in the streets with a little fire-place, parching for all the people in the neighbourhood, and receiving a little of the grain from each. They may get in Patna 2 *paysas* a day, but in other places they make less. A few are able to purchase grain, parch it in their house and retail it in a shop. These make a good deal more.

Besides the *Bharbhunas* or *Chabena furosh* there are two descriptions of persons who live by parching grain. The *Khasia-walehs* boil *pease*, season them with *turmeric* and *capsicum* and then *parch* them. The *Kungjtilay* is parch seed of *Sesamum*, *janera*, and *rice* which they mix with extract of *sugarcane* and form into balls. Both retail their commodities in the streets.

¹ Cf. Bernier's remarks on “ the danger of eating the bazar bread of Delhi, which is often badly baked and full of sand and dust ” (Pages 354-355 of Vol. I of *Travels*, Constable, London, 1891). These remarks are found in Bernier's letter from Delhi dated 14th December 1664. Bernier, however, had the good fortune of getting house-hold bread and Ganges water from his patron Danishmand Khān every morning. On p. 250 he again refers to sweetmeats sold in shops at Delhi and Agra by confectioners as “ full of dust and flies ” as also the *bakers* and their defective ovens which produced “ not properly baked ” bread.

Page 637—“The *Nanwais* or *bakers* are similar to those in Bhagalpur and Purania. The bread which the bakers make after the European fashion is most excellent.

Faludha is a kind of *wheaten cake* and those who make such as an exclusive profession are called *Faludahwalehs*.”

This is a good picture of the profession of the persons dealing with the preparation of the parched gram and its sale at the commencement of the 19th century. This profession continues in tact in India to-day.

P. S. — I have to add the following notes about the ancient Indian food and cookery which I gathered after this paper was completed :—

(1) Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* mentions *Svastika* as a “Kind of Cake” but does not record any usages of the word in this sense. The following references to this cake will therefore, be found interesting :—

(i) The *Susrutasamhitā* (N. S. Press, 1938, p. 797) *Uttaratantra*, chapter 60, verse 33 refers to the use of the *Svastika* cake in an offering at a temple :—

“कुशस्वस्तिकपूपाज्यच्छत्रपाय ससंभृतम् ।
असुराय यथाकालं विद्ध्याच्चन्द्ररादिषु ॥ ३३ ॥”

Dallana (c. A. D. 1100) explains “स्वस्तिक” as follows :—

“स्वस्तिको यवादि चूर्णैः कृतांश्चो भागे विस्तीर्ण ऊर्ध्वभागे तीक्ष्णो मध्ये वलित्रयमुद्राङ्कितो भक्ष्यविशेषः पूषः पूषालिका, आज्यं घृतम्, पतैः संभृतम् बलिं दापयेत् ।”

(ii) The *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter 8 (p. 84 of Chitrashala Edition by R. D. Kinjawdekar, Poona, 1940) also refers to स्वस्तिक as follows :—

अन्नरक्षाविधि—“यथाविध्युक्तदेवताः सुमनोऽक्षतलाजस्वस्तिक संयावनिस्तुषयवसंस्कृतगुडघृतमिश्रपायसैः अर्चयित्वा ।”
(अवलोकितेश्वरादीन्) etc.

In both the above references the use of the *Svastika* cake is enjoined in religious contexts.

(2) In the *Vaikhānasiya Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa* (Tirupati, 1948) which is a text of Śrī Vaiṣṇavas dealing with worship in temples chapter 75 deals with “हविर्निवेदनाधिपि.” Some points from this chapter pertaining to food and cookery for religious offering are as follows :—

(i) Grains worthy of being used for *haviḥ* (offering) are —

त्रीहि, शालि, प्रियङ्गु, नीवार, पाष्टिक, यव, वेणु.

(ii) Grains are to be dried in the sun and pounded in उलूखल (mortar) with a pestle (मुसल) till they become as clean as वेकुण्ठपुष्प.

(iii) The following articles are called उपदंशs—

Fruits and Grains — बृहती, चूत, कदली, पनस, उर्वारुक, कूश्माण्ड, शुद्रकन्द, महाकन्द, कुलवत्सरी, ब्रह्मपिण्ड, राजमाष, महामाष, इयाम, तिल, तिलव, निष्पाव.

(iv) Offering to the god should consist of शुद्धोदन of 5 kinds viz. मौद्गिक, पायस, कसर, गोल्प, and यावक.

(v) Cooking is to be done in an earthen pot (सृङ्गाण्ड).

(vi) The cook (पाचक) should first take a bath and then put the खाली on the oven (छुली) with the rice.

(vii) The *Upadāśas* are to be cleaned and cooked in a separate pot free from contamination of any sort whatsoever.

(viii) ताम्बूल is also to be offered to the God after the offering of शुद्धोदन and उपदंशs.

The food and cookery specified in the above notes in connection with a religious offering may be taken to represent the food and cookery of ancient India especially in non-urban setting.

THE REVELATORY CHARACTER OF HINDU EPISTEMOLOGY

BY

D. K. BEDEKAR

1. In the ancient civilised world, India enjoyed a more or less insular existence. This accounts for the *uniqueness* of Hindu (which term should include Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain, etc.) social life and thought. This uniqueness lends a *unity* to the extreme diversity of forms of philosophical thought and social life in ancient India. This uniqueness and consequent unity dominate Indian life throughout centuries, from Vedic antiquity to the days of Devendranath Tagore and Vivekanand.

In this essay, I have endeavoured to bring out this uniqueness as it manifests itself in Indian epistemological thought.

It is widely recognised by students of Indian thought that while, on the one hand, all Western epistemology is based on the concept either of *correspondence* or of *coherence*, all the diverse schools of Indian epistemology build their theories on the concept of *revelatory* knowledge or the theory of *non-contradiction*.

Now, what is *revelation* ?

I have, in the succeeding pages, tried to answer this question

2. *The pitfalls of language.*

Before I actually start the discussion, however, I must say something about the grave difficulty which is experienced in expressing Indian concepts in English terminology. Words have their own correct meanings in their own environment; conversely taken out of their 'natural' context, they either cease to live, as fish out of water, or acquire perverse and false significance. The latter calamity happens usually with philosophical terms.

Let us take the word *karma*. The concept denoted by this term is vital to Indian thought. It becomes patent to students of Indian social life and thought that *karma* is the root of *everything*, be it ontology, epistemology, ethics or the concrete social life organised in quasi-natural castes. Thus it may be safely

said that the doctrine of *karma* is the vital nexus which endows vitality and the power to live and grow to all forms of speculative and social creativeness in ancient India.¹ *Karma* thus is the navel from which radiate, like the spokes of a wheel, in innumerable directions, the particular systems of Indian thought and social activity. This central life-giving concept of *karma*, however, suddenly becomes trivial and meaningless when expressed in English as *action* or *movement*. It is then relegated to the particular spheres of ethics (as action) or cosmology (as movement), and there also it acquires puerile meaning.

This perverse metamorphosis of vital terms is at the root of much of the confusion that exists in relation to such important Hindu concepts as *guṇa*, *prakṛti*, *māyā*, etc.,. The same is true in respect of Western terms like idea, realism, etc., as and when they are used in discussing Indian systems.

3. *Distinct levels of human thought.*

But apart from difficulty of language there is something deeper in this mutual inconvertibility of terms like *prakṛti* and matter. It is not a mere superficial question of distinct languages but one of distinct *planes* or *levels of human thought*. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta has expressed this, in the following words :

"The modes of conceiving philosophical problems (in ancient India,—DKB) are therefore quite different from the current philosophical conceptions of the West. This fact causes additional difficulty for a modern student of philosophy in penetrating into the spirit of Indian philosophy, for, steeped as our minds are in modern thought, we cannot leap back into the old and unfamiliar atmosphere of Indian thought without straining our imagination."²

So, it will be seen that underlying the inconvertible terms there are distinct and mutually incompatible *modes* of thought. Thus, for instance the *mode* of thought of Kant or Hegel may superficially appear similar to that of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, but essentially Kant and Hegel inhabit a different thought-

¹ Already, in 1930, Dr. S. N. Dasgupta had endorsed this view in his *Yoga Philosophy*, (p. 10). Recently, he has reiterated this karmic basis of all Indian thought in his *Philosophical Essays*, (1941); see pages 225ff.

² *Yoga Philosophy*, p. 4.

3 [*Annals*, B. O. E. I.]

world from that inhabited by Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja. The first natural reaction of modern Indian philosophers after coming under the impact of Christianity and Western thought was to seek particular parallelisms and establish equality with Western systems, and, if possible, prove the superiority of the Indian over the Western. But, now, we know sufficiently about the East and the West to get over this tendency to set up parallelisms; instead, we should, as Dr. Dasgupta has advised us to do, "strain our imagination" and study the Indian thought-world in juxtaposition as a whole to the Western thought world.

4. *Stages of human thought.*

But the mere juxtaposition of East and West, in the form of an irreconcilable contrast (in the manner of Kipling), will be not only meaningless but barbarous in philosophy, as in everything else. It is true that we must study the Indian and the Western thought-worlds, *in contrast*, if we have to avoid facile parallelisms. But, it is equally true that we must correctly assess the significance of and find the source of this contrast.

To make my position clear I will take, as an example, a significant book by a veteran Indologist, Dr. Betty Heimann. In 1937, she published her book, *Indian and Western Philosophy, a study in contrast*. It can be seen that the very title of the book sets forth the aim, as well as the content, of the book. She has admirably covered the whole range of Indian speculation, aesthetic creativeness and social life, and has concisely and unerringly pointed out the fundamental issues of divergence between the Indian and Western thought-worlds.

But, when it comes to reaching to the source of this patent divergence or contrast she postulates thus :

Indian thought-world is 'cosmic' while that of the West is 'anthropomorphic'. The Cosmic character of Indian thought is determined by 'the dominating pre-supposition of the *force majeure* of an almost eternal and irresistible tropical Nature'; the 'anthropomorphic' thought-world of the West, on the other hand, is so conditioned by 'the temperate climate of the European continent' ¹

¹ *Indian and Western Philosophy*, page 17.

I do not agree with Dr. Heimann in postulating such natural and climatic sources of the contrast. Instead, I believe in the Hegelian view of a continuous evolution of *human* thought and social life. For Hegel, the *World-Spirit* is *one*, in other words, he postulates the view that ancient and modern thought-worlds, so also Eastern and Western thought-worlds, should be viewed as *moments* of a single gigantic process,—of the struggle of *human society* to arise out of its primitive dependence on Nature and to attain to an independent, rational and cooperative existence in full mastery of Nature as well as its own internal life.

This integral and historical view of the development of human society and thought rejects the particularised view of permanently contrasted thought-worlds, as we find for instance in the work of Dr. Heimann. When all the thought-systems ever conceived by men, in whatever stage of civilization, are unified into a single indivisible process, the uniqueness of each system is invested with a relativeness along with its individuality. Each system becomes a part of the "biography of the World-Spirit", just as child-hood, adolescence and adulthood become three contrasted, independent but finally integrated *stages* in the single life of an individual.

This Hegelian view, therefore, would free the modern Indian mind from the habits of easy comparisons and also would purge it of the desire to prove the 'spiritual' or 'intuitive' superiority of Indian thought over Western thought; instead, the Indian-seeker will, when he accepts the Hegelian stand-point, seek the truth of a particular Indian system, or of Indian thought as a whole, in the comprehensive truth of human thought-evolution.

5. *Three stages of human thought.*

I have, hitherto, emphasised the uniqueness of Indian thought and also defined the nature of this uniqueness in relation to the wholeness of human thought. This preliminary discussion will help us to grasp the unique revelatory nature of Indian epistemology and enable us to relate it to the modern epistemological theories of correspondence and coherence.

But before we actually proceed to our main problem, it will be helpful to have with us a rough scheme or skeleton of the stages of human thought-evolution which will serve as a sort of

reference while we discuss the concepts of *revelation* (or non-contradiction), *correspondence* and *coherence*.

The relations between *being* and *thought*, or in other words, between matter and mind (or *sat* and *cit*), is the central problem of all philosophy, and the stages of human thought-evolution may be designated in relation to this problem. Thus three stages of evolution may be set down, as follows :

Stage- I :- Undifferentiated *Identity* of Matter and Mind.

Stage- II :- Differentiation and *Duality* of Matter and Mind.

Stage- III :- Synthesis and *Unity* of Matter and Mind.

6. *The stage of Undifferentiated Identity.*

This stage of *Identity* reaches back into primitive magic, which was the first thought-structure built by man. The rise of ancient civilisations marks the break with primitive magic, and the beginning of a mature phase of this *Identity* stage. This mature phase reaches its highest point in Greece and there it develops its internal contradictions to the fullest. Thus ripened, this stage receives its death-blow at the hands of Plato and Aristotle and a new thought-world is ushered in. Aristotle thus inaugurates the succeeding stage of differentiation and *Duality* of matter and mind.¹

The ancient Indian thought-world belonged to this mature phase of *Identity*. Its central doctrine of *karma* is based on the *advaita* or undifferentiated identity of matter and mind. This *karma* principle genetically belongs to the first primitive stage of identity but in Indian thought-world it takes a mature form. This *advaita* and *karma* is at the root of Indian epistemology and explains the direct, revelatory and pragmatic character of the knowledge-process in all Indian systems. *Advaita* being the basis of all Indian thought it is but natural that "*advaita* (of Śaṅkara-DKB) represents the Indian mind better than any other system of Indian philosophy ".²

¹ " In Aristotle the Notion emerges free and unconstrained as comprehending thought, permeating and spiritualizing all the forms which the universe contains, " Hegel, ' *History of Philosophy* ' (Haldane, Simpson), Vol. III, p. 548.

² Dr. P. T. Raja, *Thought and Reality*, p. 246.

This *advaitic*, *māyic* or *karmic* character of Indian thought is not the same as primitive magical thought. As Hegel puts it "the view is superficial and perverted which maintains the Eastern to have lived in unity with Nature".¹

This distinction between *māyic* thought and magic of primitive man is of great importance, particularly because in my later discussion I have used the structure of primitive magical thought as an instrument to understand the processes of *māyic* thought. Being the earlier and simpler form of structure it enables us to enter into more complicated form of *karmic* thought. But, I have always kept in view the distinction between these two phases of the stage of Identity.

7. The stage of Duality.

This stage begins with the nascent form of Aristotelian thought and becomes the metaphysical basis of Christian monotheism. In this religious form, the universal 'which permeates and spiritualises all forms which the universe contains,' becomes the God, the creator. In the previous stage, Nature was dynamic, vibrant with life and energy, but in monotheism the world is reduced to mere passive existence and God is held to be the supreme artist who moulds this passive clay into diverse concrete forms.

This dualism reached a second mature phase with Descartes. He conceived mind or human thought in the form of the 'I', who is capable of thought. This individualism led to a *mechanical* view of the universe. Hegel says in this respect that in Cartesian metaphysics 'being is hence not demonstrated in the Notion of thought itself, for what advance has been made is merely in the direction of separation only'.² In this advance in separation of mind and matter 'lies the mechanical fashion of viewing nature, or the natural philosophy of Descartes is seen to be purely mechanical'.³

In epistemology, we find that *correspondence* between mind and matter, which are now held as two distinct and divorced

¹ *History of Philosophy* Vol. I, p. 132.

² *History of Philosophy*, Vol. III, p. 241.

³ *Ibid*, p. 247.

principles, is the basis of all theories of knowledge, in this stage of Duality as a whole. The earlier concept of knowledge as *revelation* or *direct contact* (*upalabdhi*) is now rejected in favour of a new concept of knowledge by *correspondence* or by *reflection* as in a mirror. 'Knowing', in the earlier stage of Identity, was equivalent to 'getting', or 'getting by identification', but, in this new stage of Duality, 'knowing' was merely 'reflecting' something alien in mind. This *correspondence* theory of knowledge was clearly propounded by Locke and all its inherent contradictions were finally developed into the mature system of Kant.

8. *The Stage of Unity.*

This stage was ushered in by Spinoza and reached its termination in the systems of Hegel and his materialist followers, Feuerbach and Karl Marx. Hegel calls Spinoza "a direct successor" to Descartes, and "one who carried on the Cartesian principles to its farthest logical conclusions. For him Soul and Body, thought and being, cease to have separate independent existence. The dualism of the Cartesian system Spinoza, as a Jew, altogether set aside". This reference to the Jewish origin of Spinoza is very significant because Hegel explains this with the following: "For the profound *unity* of his philosophy as it found expression in Europe, his manifestation of Spirit as the identity of the finite and the infinite in God, instead of God's appearing to these as a Third,—all this is an echo from Eastern lands. The *Oriental* theory of *absolute identity* was brought by Spinoza much more directly into line, firstly with the current of European thought and then with European and Cartesian philosophy in which it soon found place".¹ (Emphasis mine—DKB.).

In the above, we get a glimpse of that *Unity* of mind and matter (or of thought and being), which was achieved Spinoza and, at the same time, Hegel shows us how this *unity* brings the human mind back to the Oriental theory of *absolute Identity*. But, Hegel does not believe in such a relapse. Then, what does he mean by the Oriental character of Spinoza's thought?

¹ *History of Philosophy*, Vol III, p. 252.

Hegel only means this that in the third stage of *Unity* both the earlier stages, namely those of *Identity* and *Duality*, are *absorbed* and given a new significance. Thus, he says explicitly that "the pure thought of Spinoza is therefore not the simple universal of Plato, for it has likewise come to know the absolute opposition of *Notion* and *Being*".¹ This, *Unity* is distinct from the undifferentiated *Identity* of pre-Aristotelian thought.

This concept of unity finally matured in the system of Hegel. His 'Absolute' is a rational and conceptual construction and not a supra-rational 'Substance' as the 'absolute' in Indian thought. In his system, 'mind' ceases to be merely contingent and subjective, and 'matter' ceases to be clay-like, passive and a mere aggregate of dead fragments. Both acquire self-movement and finally the concrete self-movement of the universe becomes the manifestations of the self-movement of the World-Spirit. Thus, in the 'biography of the Spirit', Hegel sees the concrete stages of material and biological¹ evolution and the social evolution of Man. Inverting this Hegelian concept of a World-spirit, his materialist followers, Feuerbach and Marx, further matured this mind-matter-unity by placing it on its rational material basis. In the Hegelian system, there is still a vestige of the Dualism between the contemplative Spirit and inert matter. Rejecting this, Marx conceived of the 'spirit' not as the *contemplating individual* but as the thought and practical social activity of *men, in social existence*. He conceived 'matter' as self-moving matter. Thus he completes the unity of human thought and its material basis and environment.

In this stage of unity epistemology rejects the theory of *correspondence* based on Dualism and develops the new concept of *coherence*. There is also the new urge to reconcile, even unite, knowledge with *practice*. Pragmatism now as if reiterates the maxim of the ancient philosophers of the *Identity* stage, that 'knowing is getting' (*prāpakam jñānam pramāṇam*). Hegel says "Pure thought has advanced to the opposition of the subjective and the objective (in the stage of *Duality*-DKB.): the true reconciliation of the opposition is the perception that this

opposition, when pushed to its absolute extreme, resolves itself; as Schelling says, the opposites are in themselves identical and not only in themselves, but eternal life consists in the very process of continually producing the opposition and continually reconciling it. To know opposition in unity and unity in opposition—this is absolute knowledge, and science is the knowledge of this unity in its whole development by means of itself.”¹ (Emphasis mine—DKB.).

This quotation from Hegel gives us, in a nutshell, the epistemology of the stage of Unity. The opposition of mind and matter is now perceived but it is also reconciled. This *reconciliation* is neither *identification* of the two as in the Identity-stage nor *reflection* of the one in the other as in the Duality-stage. It is living ‘process’. ‘Eternal life’ of mankind is itself this process. In other words, the subject and object, or mind and matter,¹ are united or reconciled to each other through the endless endeavour of men in social existence.

9. *Realism in Hindu Epistemology.*

I will now revert to the main problem, namely a discussion on Indian epistemology with a view to emphasizing its uniqueness. It can be seen at the very outset, that the basic problem of knowledge before the Indian thinkers was one that was faced neither by Kant nor by Hegel. For Kant, the rigid Dualism, or opposition, of mind and matter was a pre-supposition, and hence knowledge of the ‘thing-in-itself’ was a riddle. For Hegel, the riddle was resolved into the new concept of an ‘eternal life’ which continually produces the opposition of mind and matter only to reconcile it continually. But, this very opposition is alien to the Indian thought-World. Hence, here, the problem of knowledge is also differently posed and solved.

This uniqueness of the premises of Indian epistemology has already been discussed by such eminent thinkers as Dr. S. N. Dasgupta. They have come to the conclusion that Indian epistemology is ‘realistic’ and ‘pragmatic’. In his *Yoga philosophy*, Dr. Dasgupta has emphasized this ‘realism’ while discussing the theory of *gunas*; in his recent *Philosophical Essays*, he has

¹ *History of Philosophy*, Vol. III, p. 551.

striven to show the 'realism' of Śaṅkara's *Vedānta*. Now this 'realism' of Indian thought, which only apparently links it up with the modern schools of realism, empiricism, pragmatism, etc., is only the manifestation of the fact that since 'matter' and 'mind' were not held in opposition as in post-Aristotelian philosophy, by the Indian epistemologists, they did not postulate either subjective idealism or rigid mechanical materialism.

So, if we want to go deeper into the uniqueness of Indian epistemology we should turn from this realism to something more specific, which will enable us to go to the root of the problem.

10. *Some modern Indian authors on the revelatory theory of knowledge.*

We get a glimpse of such a specific and distinctive aspect of Indian epistemology in an epigram used by Dr. Hirianna. He says that according to Indian epistemology "knowledge can show but cannot know." ¹

What is the meaning of this paradox?

A full answer can only be provided through detailed discussion of the whole content of the Indian theory of knowledge. But one thing can be seen, even at this stage namely, that knowledge, as conceived in Indian thought, is only a unique way of *showing* objects, but not of getting into any *contemplative relation* with them. In the stages of Duality and Unity, 'knowledge' is both 'showing' and 'knowing'; in fact, the such a distinction between 'showing' and 'knowing' is alien and incomprehensible to post-Aristotelian thought.

Here, we also come up against the unique phenomenon to 'revelation'. Revelation is not 'knowing' in the modern sense of the term, since there is neither correspondence nor coherence between such categories as 'mind' and 'its objects' involved in the phenomenon of revelation. At the same time, revelation is not the absence of what may be called knowledge. In fact, it is a unique kind of knowledge and somehow it justifies the term 'showing' adopted by Dr. Hirianna to describe this phenomenon.

¹ Rāmānuja's *Theory of Knowledge*, Indian Philosophical Congress Proceedings, 1925, p. 73.

Let us turn to another writer. Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari says that the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* theory of knowledge is "revelatory and not representative."¹ He shows clearly, in the following paragraph, the vital distinction between the Western (Idealistic and Realistic) theories of knowledge and the theory of Rāmānuja :

"The distinction drawn by some Western objective Idealists between idea in the psychological sense of a perishing psychical representation and idea in the logical sense of reference to reality is artificial, since *jñāna* is as real as the object known and since there is no barrier between the subjective and the objective."²

Another modern Indian author draws a similar conclusion from *Vedāntic* epistemology. Discussing the epistemology of Śrīharṣa, Dr. S. K. Saksena, says that the *Vedānta* theory of knowledge is revelatory and can be objected to only if one and the same thing cannot be considered "both a subject and an object."³

Here I shall refer to a remark made by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta regarding the epistemological theory of the Sautrāntikas.

"This account of perception leaves out the real epistemological question of how the knowledge is generated by the external world or what it is in itself. It only looks to the correctness or faithfulness of the perception to the object and its value for us in the practical realisation of our ends. The question of the relation of the external world with knowledge as determining the latter is regarded as unimportant."⁴

This estimate of Sautrāntika epistemology is really valid regarding the entire domain of Hindu epistemology. Dr. Dasgupta observes, after summarizing the theories of the Buddhist, *Sāṃkhya*, *Mīmāṃsā*, and other systems :

"But the question remained unsolved as to why in spite of the unique character of knowledge, knowledge could relate itself to the world of objects, how far the world of external objects or of knowledge could be regarded as absolutely true. Hitherto, judgements

¹ *Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita*, p. 43.

² *Ibid* p. 30.

³ *Nature of Consciousness in Hindu Thought*, p. 72.

⁴ *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 410.

- were only relative, either referring to one's being prompted to the objective world, to the faithful representation of objects, the suitability of fulfilling our requirements, or to verification by later uncontradicted experience. *But no inquiry was made whether any absolute judgements about the ultimate truth of knowledge and matter could be made at all. That which appeared was regarded as the real.*"¹ •

The words emphasised by me, in this quotation, show how the Indian epistemologists did not even moot the basic problem of post-Aristotelian epistemology.

11. *The nature of 'revelation'.*

• From the quotations, cited above, from various modern Indian authors, we can see that Hindu epistemology had not set before itself the same problem as the one posed and answered by post-Aristotelian philosophy. I have already stated that this distinct difference of approach to the problem of knowledge between Hindu and post-Aristotelian epistemology arises out of the fact that the Hindu thought world is based on an undifferentiated Identity of mind and matter, while the post-Aristotelian thought world is based, firstly, on Duality of these two entities, and, secondly, on their Unity.

We have also tentatively found that the Indian theory of knowledge is revelatory. It is necessary now to go into the exact nature of this 'revelatory' knowledge process.

In this connection, we can start with a simile which occurs so often in Hindu epistemology. It is the celebrated simile of the lamp, its rays and the illuminated objects. According to Hindu epistemology, knowledge arises as the revelation, or *illumination*, of objects by a lamp. Rays of light contact the objects and enter into a relation of *contact and identity* with them, while the lamp remains unaffected. The lamp, however, is essential for this phenomenon of illumination. At times, the rays of light are substituted by the simile of water which runs into fields of different shapes. In the process of knowledge, the objects (or *jada bāhyārtha*) are contacted and identified with the 'rays' of knowledge or *dharmā-bhūta-jñāna* and the 'self' merely shines and remains unaffected as the lamp.

¹ *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, pp. 417-418.

These similes of the lamp, and of water in fields, are only crude models and are apt to create certain wrong impressions. For instance, in the case of the lamp simile, we must note that the Hindu systems do not have anything in common with the Aristotelian and the Cartesian concept of the 'Self' (*logos* or *nous*) or the subject as the knower. In the simile, the lamp is apt to be mistaken for the term 'knower', in its modern connotation. But, in all Hindu systems, there is a sharp distinction drawn between a 'knower' and an 'illuminator', for example, the *pratyak* and the *parāka* in *Viśiṣṭādvaita* or *ātman* and *jīva* in other systems. In Aristotle, on the other hand, pure thought, 'Form' or *nous* is not so divided into itself but is one single whole. It is not mere potentiality like the 'illuminator', but is the 'unceasing activity of thought' of a monolithic Self. In the famous dictum of Descartes, '*Cogito ergo sum*', the Self is affirmed only on the basis of its thinking activity. In contrast of this, however, as we shall see in the following analysis, Hindu Epistemology has divorced the 'knower' from the 'illuminator.'

12. *The divorce between the 'knower' and the 'illuminator.'*

This divorce between the 'knower' and the 'illuminator' is so vital to the whole structure of Indian epistemology, (as also to the other branches of Indian philosophy), that it may be safely considered the fundamental pre-supposition underlying the whole theory of 'revelatory' knowledge. This divorce finds expression in the old famous Vedic *mantra* of *dvā suparṇā*, (R.V.I, 162, 20), and also remains the basis of the later Śaṅkara-Vedāntic concept of the *adhyāsa*. It runs, therefore, like a red thread throughout the evolution of the Indian thought-world.

The main point about this divorce between the 'knower' and the 'illuminator' is that we have before us a unique 'splitting up' of the human ego or Self, as we, moderns, understand it. All the activities of the human mind, which are integrated into an organic whole as the personality and 'I' of an individual are attributed, in Indian thought, only to the 'knower' (*jīva*) i. e. to a fraction of the whole. The part that 'stands over' this 'knower' is the 'illuminator' (*ātman*). Both have none of the attributes which we today ascribe to the Self. Particularly, the

'illuminator' has one unique 'function' and that is of flooding the activities of the 'knower' with 'light' or 'energy'.

This whole ancient mode of reasoning is alien to our modern Indian minds and hence we must exercise or 'strain' our imagination to get at the root of this apparently mystifying affair.

To help our imagination we may profitably adopt a simple device and that is to analyse, in a concrete and patient manner, the primitive theory and practice of sympathetic magic, which also based on the Identity of mind and matter. Before I turn to this problem of primitive magic, I wish to draw a comparison between the 'activities of the knower' in Indian thought and those of the 'knower' in modern thought.

In modern thought, the cognitive, affective and volitional reactions aroused by an object in a subject actually inhere only in the subject. The sensation of colour, seen by the eye, and the fear, felt in the heart, on seeing a snake belong to the mind of the perceiver. But this is not the case with the 'knower' in Indian thought. Here there is no mere *correspondence* but actual identification between the object, the sense-organs, the sensations, affections, volitions, etc.

This point is both important and rather incomprehensible to our modern minds, so that I shall dwell on it in some detail. While discussing the Buddhist concept of *rūpa*, Dr. S. N. Dasgupta writes as follows :

"No distinction seems to have been made between the *sense-data* as colours, smells, etc. as existing in the physical world and their appearance as *sensations*. Buddhism did not *probably* start with the same kind of division of mind and matter as we now do. And it may not be out of place to mention that such an *opposition* and *duality* were found neither in the *Upaniṣads* nor in the *Sāṃkhya* system, which is regarded by some as pre-Buddhist." ¹

The words underlined by me, show how the identification of sensations and sense-data is expressed by the term *rūpa*. The equivocation, expressed in the word 'probably' with which Dr. Dasgupta states the general character of this theory of Identity, is however wholly unwarranted. I think we must clearly

¹ *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol. I, p. 95.

realise the full sway of this principle of Identity in the entire diversity and history of Indian thought. I may add that, in Indian speculation, we find that not only sensations (like those of colour) but affections, cognitions and volitions also are so identified with the 'objects', and thus instead of having before us an objective world, we have *prakṛti* which is *pañca-bhūtātmikā*, i. e. the projection of the five sense-organs of man. Similarly, the vital principle or driving force behind this *prakṛti* is also the quasi-human category of *kāma*.

In contrast, we can see that such an 'identification' of the 'knower' and the *prakṛti* is wholly alien, nay unthinkable, in post-Aristotelian thought. In the modern representational knowledge-process, the sense-data do not become identified either with the sense-organs or with the sensations and other ideations of the subject. There is also no general 'illumination' of such an identity. On the contrary, the knowing 'self', as a whole, actively seeks to reflect, or to represent, the object. This subject-object relationship forms the common ground for all the diverse and conflicting schools of modern materialism and idealism. Their mutual conflict regarding the primacy of mind over matter, or vice versa, is carried on against this common background. As we have already seen the study of the problem of Indian epistemology has to be undertaken against an entirely different back-ground.

Reverting to the problem of the 'revelatory' nature of knowledge, we will now seek to grasp this unique concept, with reference to a simpler psychic phenomenon, namely, that of sympathetic primitive magic.

13. *The psychosis of sympathetic magic.*

We have already seen that in an act of revelatory knowledge, say perception of a stag by a hunter, the following dual process, takes place; firstly, the sense-perceptions and other ideations of the 'knower' about the stag get identified with the real stag; secondly, this identification is illuminated by the 'illuminator'. Both the 'knower' and 'illuminator' together constitute the 'mind' of the hunter. Now, if we take the help of the researches of the anthropologists in the domain of primitive magic we get an astoundingly similar phenomenon. It has been found that an

Aurignacian hunter-artist has drawn a rock-painting of a stag, with the sole purpose of 'operating' on the real stag, which is identified, in his primitive mind, with the picture drawn on the rock. This practical aim or purpose of the hunter-artist is what the anthropologist calls sympathetic magic. We must now see how this psychosis functions as a knowledge process.

The hunter-artist draws on a rock a corporeal picture representing his sensations, desires and general ideas about the stag. As a magic-dominated thinker, he believes thoroughly in the *identity* of his sensations and ideas, firstly, with their pictorial representations, and, secondly, of all these with the 'real' stag. On the basis of this identity of the 'real' and 'ideal', he performs magical rites in relation to the picture. The rites, he believes, will be efficacious in relation to the real stag. Let us, hereafter, denote this *identity* of the psychic, pictorial and real 'aspects' of the stag by the word 'stag-complex', which is for the artist-magician, neither a mental nor a material thing, but a psycho-physical concrete substance.

It may be noted here that for the magic-dominated primitive man the real stag of the modern man does not exist. For him the 'stag-complex' alone is fully real. The word *citra* in fact indicates this position of the primitive man because it refers both to the picture and to *cit*, that is the ideations of the artist. Similarly, for instance, the word *bhesaja* indicates both an objective remedy for a disease and a charm, which is the same as a wish to cure. Such real as well as magical meanings will be found to be integrated into most of the ancient terms like *citra*, *yantra*, *bhesaja*, etc.

The stag-complex is taken to be a reality, a substance or a *dravya* by the artist-magician, otherwise he would not seek to operate on that assumption. All the mutilations of the stag-picture vitally and organically affect the stag-complex, of which the picture is only one coextensive 'limb'. At times, there are no mutilations but attempts to propitiate the stag-complex. The artist-magician then dons a stag-horn head-dress, and dances the stag-dance. He believes that in his dance-ecstasy, he will become the stag-complex, just as the picture drawn in perfect communion with the stag-complex had par-

taken of its full reality. All this is similar to the *prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā* ceremony which invests an idol with divinity and power.

14. '*Revelation*' in magic practices.

In this primitive psychosis, we discover very vital elements that throw light on the 'revelatory' theory of knowledge, because in the mental process of the hunter-artist, we get the same *dual* process as was seen in 'revelatory' knowledge. Firstly the stag-complex is not a representational relation between a real stag and its mental picture. On the contrary, it is a unique identification, which can be understood by our modern minds, only by inference and by straining our imagination. The question now arises: what is 'revelatory' in this primitive psychosis? The answer is found in the magic rites performed by the artist-magician. What does he attempt to achieve by either drawing the picture of the stag-complex or by dancing the stag-dance? The stag-complex exists as a 'substance', or as a 'psycho-physical' identity. What does the magician, then, achieve by these magic rites? Surely, he does not want to establish anew the identity, which already exists, for him, as a fact and a substance. All the sensations desires and ideas of the hunter about the stag have already, in a unique way, divorced themselves from the hunter and have 'joined' inextricably into the stag-complex, and, hence, the hunter-magician is not performing the rites to establish any psychical relationship with the stag.

The meaning of the hunter's magical practices, then, in the epistemological sense, is in the fact that he is trying to *flood* the *stag-complex* with a large amount of 'energy' in the form of intense creative effort, both mental and physical. This 'energy' is 'created' in the very effort to create the art-forms (picture or dance), related to the stag-complex. By this 'flooding' he thinks that he not only 'knows' the stag-complex but he 'gets it.' He is seeking, in other words, communion with it and is attempting, with the help of intense 'energy', 'to grasp' the stag-complex. In other words, his attempt is to master and control it, by efforts or *tapas*.

Now, this 'flooding with one's energy' a stag-complex, is an act of 'illumination'. This is revelation, which appears to the hunter-magician an 'act of knowledge'. In this act, however, his sensations, desires, ideas, etc., are 'external to his illuminat-

ing 'self' and are a 'part' or 'aspect' of the stag-complex. If his own 'thoughts' and 'ideas' are thus external to the him, who, then, 'knows' the stag-complex? This query did not worry the primitive magician, but it formed the basis of the later *dual* concept of the 'illuminating' self (*ātman*) and the 'knowing' *jīva*, in ancient pre-Aristotelian thought-world.

I have so far tried to show the real genesis and primitive basis of the 'revelatory' theory of knowledge, namely, the magic-identification of the 'real' and 'mental' aspects of things in 'psycho-physical complexes' and the 'illumination' of such complexes by intense effort. In the case of the hunter-artist, the aesthetic and magical activities were the practical manifestations of the act of 'illumination'. The Anrignacian magic-believing man was temporally only very remotely related to the man of the ancient civilised world; but, I see no reason why we should not see a *continuation* of this primitive concept of 'illuminating' and 'knowing' in the 'revelatory' theory of knowledge, which we find in all pre-Aristotelian thought.

15. 'Kratu' and 'manas'.

It is but natural that in the earlier stages of Indian epistemology we should come across some direct vestigial evidences of the fact that the 'revelatory' theory is a continuation from the knowledge-theory of primitive magic. I think we have such a proof in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X, 6, 3, wherein it is said that the *puruṣa* is *kratumaya*, *manomaya* and *saṃkalpamaya*. Dr. Jwala Prasad, while commenting on this hymn has translated the word *kratu* as 'understanding' and rejected the usual meaning given to the word, namely, 'will'. He also refers to the fact that there is a reference to 'meditation', in the context.¹

I suggest, however, that *kratu* is not 'understanding' but 'meditation', that too 'meditation' not in the modern sense of 'contemplation' but something in the nature of that effort (leading to ecstasy) which characterised the creative effort of the hunter-magician. In fact, the word *tapas* does convey to us the picture of mental and physical effort and it is this effort which 'floods' the *manas* with energy. What is this *manas*? It is that knowing part of the *puruṣa* which gets in contact and gets identi-

¹ Indian Epistemology, p. 34.

11 'Annals, B. O. R. I.]

fied with the *artha* or external world. Thus the *manomaya* aspect of the *puruṣa* is the *upalabhiḥ* 'knower' while the *kratumaya* aspect is the *jñātṛ* 'illuminator'.

The *manomaya puruṣa* is, however, as much an 'aspect' of the *puruṣa* as it is an 'aspect' of the world of *nāma-rūpa*. The earliest reference to this doctrine of *nāma-rūpa*, in *Satapatha* XI, 2, 3, 1 is again significant. In this passage, it is said that the *brahmin* 'knew' the universe through *nāma-rūpa*. The word used for 'knowing' is *pratyavaid* and it has been differently translated by Indologists, as 'descending', 'pervading', 'attaining' and 'knowing,' the last rendering being that of Dr. Jwala Prasad.¹

Actually, I think, all the renderings express partially what is expressed in the concept of *nāma-rūpa*. The full meaning of *nāma-rūpa* can be grasped with the help of our reference to the duality of 'illuminations' and 'knowing' in early thought. Thus the term '*pratyavaid*' can be understood by equating *brahman* with the 'illuminator', who remains unaffected when the sensations and sense-data fuse together to form what is called the *nāma-rūpa*, or complexes such as the stag-complex. How can the 'illuminator' know anything except through the act of flooding this *nāma-rūpa* with his energy? This act of flooding with energy is the only and unique relation between *brahman* and the *nāma-rūpa*. This act is described so often as *tapas* and sometimes as the desire of the *brahman* 'to pervade', to 'to descend to', 'to attain', or 'to know' the *nāma-rūpa*. The act is, in fact, similar to the rites of the magician-hunter, who seeks 'to know' the stag-complex. This explanation, I think, brings us nearer to the real import of the term *pratyavaid*, and also shows us how the concepts of *brahman* and *nāma-rūpa* are based on the unique dualism of 'the illuminator' and 'the knower'.

This unique 'split up' of the 'illuminator' and the 'knower' presented Indian philosophy with its central problem of explaining the 'connection' between these two entities, and this led to the unique concept of *yoga* (connection). This is also the womb in which the concept of *karma*, with its earlier forms in *ṛta*, etc., was developed. *Karma* is, thus, the mode of existence of the *nāma-rūpa*, while the 'illuminator' stands in the unique relation-

ship of *aloofness* and *illumination* to this *karmic* world of flux (*Samsāra*).

16. Pragmatism in 'revelatory' knowledge.

I will now pass on to some aspects of the 'revelatory' theory, which reinforce my general proposition.

It is noted by students of Hindu epistemology that knowledge in Hindu thought, is, by its nature, efficacious (*prāpaka*) and intuitional (*pratyakṣa*).

It is quite easy to see why 'revelatory' knowledge is bound to be efficacious, because a 'revelation' is only flooding the *nāma-rūpa* 'complex' with a peculiar energy. This flooding as if vitalizes or energizes the complex. The desires, which form the components of the complex, get vitalized and 'move' towards fulfilment, or *kūma* becomes *kratu* and *karma*. Thus in 'revelatory' epistemology, 'to know' a thing is also 'to get' (*grahāṇa*) it. It is quite easy too see how the test of the validity of knowledge is not the same in Indian thought as in modern dualistic epistemology. In the latter, true knowledge is achieved when an object is *fully represented* in thought; it is held that 'to know' is to enter into a *rational* or *contemplative* relationship with the object. In the English language, we find such synonyms for 'knowing' as 'grasping' or 'getting' but they only testify to the vestigial remains of primitive concepts of knowledge in the language used by modern men. In the real fundamental sense, however, the modern dualistic concept of 'knowing' signifies only 'representing in one's mind' an alien object.

In Hegelian, and more explicitly in Marxian philosophy, however, a unity between the 'rational' and the 'real' or between 'theory' and 'practice' is propounded. This is a natural corollary to the principle of unity between mind and matter, in general. But this unity between 'theory' and 'practice' is quite different from the *prāpakatva* of Hindu epistemology. In the *prāpakatva* latter, the revelation *only brings out* the undifferentiated Identity between the knower, the known and the act of knowledge. 'Revelation' or 'illuminations' is only an 'awareness'. It may be dim or bright according to the quantity and intensity of mental energy that is flooded into the *nāma-rūpa* complex.

This 'awareness', however, is the *grahāṇa* or the pragmatic appropriation of the object of knowledge, in Hindu epistemology.

It can be easily seen that the unity of theory and practice in the Hegelian and Marxian sense is in no way similar to this *prāpakatva* of ancient thought.

This contrast between the ancient theory of Identity and the modern theory of the unity of theory and practice can be best understood in relation to the problem of 'freedom'. To the modern man knowledge is a means to the attainment of freedom. But, this freedom is not the power to go beyond the laws of Nature or of social environment. In fact, freedom is the 'recognition of necessity', or the full understanding of these laws, and it is in conformity with these laws that man can progress towards social and individual perfection. The growing mastery of man over Nature and over his social life is a pragmatic testimony of this freedom attainable through knowledge. But, 'freedom' has a different meaning in ancient Hindu thought. This 'freedom' is also attainable through knowledge, but it is not knowledge of laws but 'revelation' of things, which may or may not conform to natural and social laws. This 'freedom' is, therefore, unfettered. This is paradoxical, because in real life the ancient man had very limited power over his material and social environment. But, the paradox only shows that the 'freedom' was similar to the freedom enjoyed by a child when it creates a world of fantasy for itself. It will be clear, therefore, that the meaning of *prāpakatva*, in Hindu epistemology, is the power of 'revelation' to create a 'private world' and endow it with the validity of reality. This conclusion may be summarised in these words of Dr. B. L. Atreya :

"The Indian theory of knowledge satisfies intellectual, volitional and emotional demands of the *individual*. It ensures *full freedom* to him not only in the Western narrow sense of the choice out of the given alternatives of action, but of *imagining and creating* any kind of the *objective* world for himself". (Emphasis mine—DKB).

We have seen above the real meaning of the *prāpakatva* or 'pragmatism' of Hindu epistemology. We shall come to a similar conclusion if we examine its 'realism'. The unique concept of *adyāsa*, so thoroughly discussed in the Hindu systems, can also be analysed in a new way along the lines, which I have followed here. I have discussed these problems of 'realism', *adyāsa*, etc., in an essay which will form a sequel to this one.

¹ *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*, p. 602.

THE MOVEMENTS OF THE PĀṆDAVAS

BY

V. B. ATHAVALE

Before taking up the problem of the choronological and the geographical sequence of the movements of the Pāṇḍavas from Vāraṇāvata to the Ekacakrā town and then to the Kāmpilya town of Drupada, it is better to form a correct estimate of the relative ages of the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana and Kṛṣṇa. because Ādi. 180. 17-18 (Cr.) records the first meeting of Kṛṣṇa with the Pāṇḍavas in the Draupadī Svayamvara. Ādi. 115. 21. tells that the five brothers were born¹ every consequent year. The preceding two verses tell that Yudhisthira was the eldest of the three sons of Kuntī, Bhīma was the second and Arjuna, was the third. Of the two sons of Mādri, who were younger than Arjuna, Nakula was senior and Sahadeva was junior. Thus we know definitely that if it is possible to find out the age of any one at the time of a certain event, it is easy to work out the age of others.

Ādi. 115. 26, and 123. 19. (Chitra.) tells in two places that Bhīma and Duryodhana were born on the same day. One of the alternative readings gives the additional detail that Duryodhana was born on the previous night while Bhīma was born on the next day noon. This fact of their birth on the same day can even

¹ The critical edition has shifted to the foot note No. 1240, page 516, the following half verse. पांडुपुत्रा व्यराजंत पंचसंवत्सरा इव ।

The meaning is that the five brothers were like five consecutive years. It was not proper to trunket the half to the foot-note because the analogy not only confirmed the previous statement but it expressed the additional fact that the time calculation contained a five year group in the Pāṇḍava times. Virāt. 52. 1-4. tell explicitly how the five year-cycle requires the addition of two lunar months to bring back the shift of the season.

कलाः काष्ठाः च युज्यन्ते मुहूर्ताः च दिनानि च ।

अर्धमासाः च मासा च नक्षत्राणि ग्रहेः तथा ॥ १ ॥

क्षैतेषः चापि युज्यन्ते तथा संवत्सरा अपि ।

एवं कालविभागेन कालचक्रं प्रवर्तते ॥ २ ॥

तेषां कालान्तिकेण ज्योतिषा च व्यतिक्रमात् ।

पंचमे पंचमे वर्षे द्वौमासौ उपजायतः ॥ ३ ॥

be corroborated independently in the following way. Both the Critical and the Chitrashala editions describe the following event in Ch. 107 and 115, respectively. At the time of the birth of Duryodhana, bad omens were observed. The brahmins and Vidura told Dhṛtarāṣṭra that the Nakṣatra at the birth of the son suggested that child will bring ill luck to the family and hence it was better that the child should be thrown away. It is better to sacrifice one village if it achieves the good of the whole district; a family can be sacrificed for the welfare of a town; so an individual can be sacrificed if it saves the troubles of the whole family. Dhṛtarāṣṭra got worried by the news. One day he called a meeting of the pandits as well as of the family members, but instead of asking them as to what should be done with the child, he asked them, "Yudhiṣṭhira is senior to Duryodhana by birth and it is right that he should inherit the throne, and I have to say nothing against this claim. But as my son Duryodhana and Bhīma are born on the same day, will it not be proper that Duryodhana should be the next claimant to the throne after Yudhiṣṭhira?"¹

Now we shall try to relate the age of Kṛṣṇa with that of the Pāṇḍavas. Ādi. 191. 20; 221. 40-41; Sabhā. 2. 21; Vana. 22. 45; 183. 6; Bhāgawat. 10. 50. 2, are the six references, when Kṛṣṇa comes to meet the Pāṇḍavas. In every case Kṛṣṇa bows down to Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma, clasps Arjuna (in one case the words are समवयस्कं अर्जुनं), while Nakula and Sahadeva bow down to Kṛṣṇa. This shows clearly that Kṛṣṇa was junior to Bhīma, but senior to Nakula. This proves that Kṛṣṇa was nearly of the same age as that of Arjuna. Devibhāgavata tells explicitly that Kṛṣṇa was senior to Arjuna by three months.

¹ The critical edition omits the verse, in which Dhṛtarāṣṭra states that Duryodhana and Bhīma are born on the same day. The verse is shifted to the foot-note. It is a mistake to shift the verse, because the argument of Dhṛtarāṣṭra for claiming the right of Duryodhana to the kingdom after Yudhiṣṭhira, depended on the fact that Duryodhana was born a few hours earlier than Bhīma. The Chitrashālā edition has correctly placed the verse. The critical edition gives the verse in Ādi. 114. 14, and Chitr. repeats the verse in Ādi. 123. 19. Another statement in Ādi. 115. 1 (Cr.) tells that Nakula was born after Duryodhana's birth. "कुंतीसुतेषु जातेषु धृतराष्ट्रात्मजेषु च । नद्राजसूता पाण्डुं रक्षी वचनं अग्रधीत् ।"

Now let us turn to the site of the Hastināpura town. It is easy to prove that the palace of Dhṛtarāṣṭra was only two miles from the Ganges river. For StrI. 10. 17 ; 11. 1 & 19 ; 27. 1. tell that Dhṛtarāṣṭra and others left the palace to perform the Uśaka ceremony. After crossing a distance of Krosha (two miles), they reached the Ganges, where they met Kṛpa, Kṛtavarṃā and 'Āśvatthāmā. They narrated how they killed at night the sons of Drupada and Draupadi, and hurried away else where, because they were pursued by the Pāṇḍavas. The proximity of the Ganges can be verified in the following way. There was a garden (Udyāna) on the banks of the Ganges river and the Kuru boys went there for play. A part of the river was just like a big lake and it was known as Pramāṇakoṭi Rhada.¹ It is referred to in Ādi. 61. 12 ; 128. 33 & 52.

¹ The critical edition describes in Ādi. 119, an important incident which happened near Pramāṇakoṭi Rhada. One day Bhīma got exhausted after a swimming contest in the Rhada, and he slept by the side of it. Duryodhana and his companions tied him while he was asleep and threw him in the water. In the verse 35, the critical edition tells that Bhīma woke up and cut the chords with which he was bound and came out of the water. The verse 36, tells that he slept again. While asleep he was bitten by serpents. When Bhīma woke up he killed all the serpents. He even killed a charioteer. The verse 39 tells that the food of Bhīma was again poisoned. Yuyutsu, a son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra gave the intimation that the food was poisoned". There is no historical concordance in the sequence of events given in the critical edition. 120 lines are shifted to the appendix, thinking that they were interpolations. The Chitrakṣa edition gives a historically correct version. Bhīma was carried by boys of the Sarpa and Nāga families, to their place. Vāsuki was the king of the Nāga and Sarpa families residing in the jungle country, on the river banks of the Ganges and the Jamuna. Ādi. 129. 20. (Ch.) tells that Bhīma was in the house of Vāsuki for eight days. The details about the eight days of absence of Bhīma are given in the portion shifted to the Appendix, page 917, section 73. It tells that on the day on which Duryodhana threw Bhīma in the Ganges, all the boys returned to the palace except Bhīma. Men were sent for his search but he was not found. After eight days Bhīma returned and told Yudhiṣṭhira how he went to the house of Vāsuki. etc.

The version given in the critical edition creates the impression that Bhīma was actually bitten by serpents and poisonous cobras and yet he survived. Nāga and sarpa were the family-names and these families lived in the Jungle-areas by the side of the Ganges and the Jamuna. In the case of Kṛṣṇa also, we know that he was at the house of Kālīya Nāga for a number of days.

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The Pāṇḍavas are described here as "Bālāh" or "Kumārāh". It shows that the age of Yudhiṣṭhira, the oldest of them, must be less than 16, because the expression "Yuvā" is used from this age. It can even be shown that the age of Yudhiṣṭhira must be about 9-10, when the boys were brought by the Rsis to Hastināpura on the 17th day (Ādi. 126. 29) after the death of Pāṇḍu, because Ādi. 128. 14, tells that the Upanayana ceremony (वेदोक्तान् संस्कारान्) of the boys took place at Hastināpura, the home of their father. The thread ceremony of a Kṣatriya takes place at the age of twelve. That the Pāṇḍavas were very young when Pāṇḍu died, can be verified from Ādi. 126. 3.

स जातमात्रान् पुत्रांश्च दारांश्च भवतां इह ।
प्रदायोपनिधिं राजा पांडुःस्वर्गं इतो गतः ।

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The case of Ulupī, the Nāga wife of Arjuna is worth noting here to prove conclusively that Nāgas and Sarpas mentioned in the Mbh., were human settlements in the jungle areas by the sides of the big rivers. The note 904 to Ādi. 90. 85, page 408, (Criti), tells that Arjuna had a son called Iravata from Ulupī, who was a woman from the Nāga family. Ādi. 206. 10-34, tell that Arjuna went to the Ganges at Haradwara, while he was on a penance-pilgrimage. He was performing his 'Tarpaṇa' in the river, which he had nearly finished and he was thinking of performing his 'Agni-kārya' after getting out of the water. Ulupī, the daughter of a Nāga chief, was passing in a boat by the side of Arjuna (गच्छन्त्या कामयानया). She was attracted by the well-built physique of Arjuna and she asked Arjuna to accompany her to her residence by the side of the river. Arjuna accepted the request and went to her place. He finished his 'Agni-karya' there.

Ulupī then requested Arjuna to satisfy her 'Kāma'. After some hesitation Arjuna accepted Ulupī as a wife. He stayed there for the night and proceeded on his pilgrimage the next day. The note 2025, tells that the son Iravata was born from this Union of Arjuna with Ulupī.

Bhīṣma. 90. 7-12, tells that Ulupī was the daughter of Airāvata Nāga and she was given in marriage to Suparṇa, a son of another Naga chief. Soon after the marriage, Suparṇa was killed and Ulupī remained a childless widow. It was this widow who was accepted by Arjuna as his wife and he had a son called Irāvān from her. The brother of the first husband of Ulupī got angry by this incident and he outcasted Ulupī. When Arjuna went to the Himalayas to get the 'Astravidyā' during the twelve years of exile of the Pāṇḍavas, Irāvān saw his father and agreed to join the Pāṇḍava side with his Nāga warriors.

Bhīṣma. 45. 69-70, describes the fight of Irāvān with Śrutāyuga on the first day of the war. Irāvān was killed on the 8th day of the war and his fight with several warriors is described in 70 verses of Bhīṣma 90.

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• It is easy to prove that the age of Bhīma was about 11-12 when the incident of drowning took place in the Pramāṇakoṭi Rhada, as follows. Bhāgawata X. 48-49, tell that after Kṛṣṇa killed Kamsa, the news reached Mathurā that Dhṛtarāṣṭra was not taking proper care of the Pāṇḍava boys and that Bhīma was even poisoned by Duryodhana. Akrura was sent to Hastināpura to inquire about the authenticity of the report and advise Dhṛtarāṣṭra not to ill-treat his nephews. Akrura stayed in Hastināpura for two months. Devibhāgavata tells that Kuntī was present in Mathurā at the thread-ceremony of Kṛṣṇa, which took place after the death of Kamsa. It is quite probable that Akrura brought Kuntī and her five sons to Mathurā, when he returned from Hastināpura. The age of Kṛṣṇa at the thread-ceremony must be 12. We know that Bhīma was senior to Kṛṣṇa by one year. It means that the age of Bhīma when he came to Mathurā for the thread-ceremony of Kṛṣṇa was 13. This means that the age of Bhīma was about 12 when the drowning incident took place. It can be stated incidentally that this was the first meeting of the Pāṇḍavas with Kṛṣṇa.

The next important event in the history of the Pāṇḍavas, before they went to Vārāṇas, was the attack on the Pāñcāla kingdom by Droṇa with his young pupils, the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. It is described in Ādi. 138 (Chitra.). We are not concerned with the details of the fight here, but the incident gives a clear idea of the extent of the Pāñcāla kingdom before the attack, and the territory left in possession of Drupada after the defeat. Ādi. 138. 70-77, tells that Droṇa got the territory north of the Ganges, called Uttara Pāñcāla, the capital of which was Ahichhatra.¹ The country south of the Ganges up to Jamuna

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Another important person from the Nāga family is mentioned in the Khāṇḍava forest burning incident. Ādi. 227. 4 and 228. 16-17, tell that Takṣaka Nāga was saved from burning of the Khāṇḍava forest because he had gone to Kurukṣetra at that time.

¹ The site of Ahichhatra (Canopy of a Nāga) has been correctly identified with Adikot near Ramnagar in Rohilkhand. Page 412, of "The Ancient Geography of India", by Mr. Cunningham, gives a complete proof of the way in which it was identified. "The local legend tells that the old fort was built by Raja Adī, an Ahir, whose future elevation to sovereignty was fore-

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and Chambal (Charmanvati) rivers was called Dakṣiṇa Pāñcāla. Its capital was Kāmpilya. Drupada was now the king of South Pāñcāla only and he began to stay at Kāmpilya after the incident. The exact location of Kāmpilya will be discussed later when we take up the problem of the entry of the Pāṇḍavas in Kāmpilya for the Svayamvara of Draupadī.

The age of Yudhiṣṭhira in the Drupada campaign must be about 21, because Ādi. 139. 1 (Chitra.), tells that a few months after the campaign, Dhṛtarāṣṭra performed the Yauvarājya-bhīṣeka ceremony at the end of the year and declared Yudhiṣṭhira to be the Yuvarāja.

Now we shall turn to the shellac-house incident at Vāraṇāvata. It will illustrate clearly the importance of the critical edition, which has preserved all the readings and matter given in the various manuscripts of the text. The movements of the Pāṇḍavas can be correctly traced both geographically as well as chronologically from these preserved readings. It would have been impossible to fix them if the variant readings were not available for a research worker.

Duryodhana naturally got worried by this declaration of Yudhiṣṭhira as a Yuvarāja. Karna, Shakuni and Duryodhana were planning for about two years to find out a way; so as to oust the Pāṇḍava brothers. Ultimately they hit upon the plan of inducing them to go for a change to the beautiful locality of the Vāraṇāvata town. Let me give the present correct location of this town, so that it will be useful to study the movements of the Pāṇḍavas later from this town. A light railway runs between Delhi and Saharanpur. Baraut is a railway station, 30 miles from Delhi, on this line. The Vāraṇāvata town is the Barnava village, 10 miles to the east of Baraut, by a road. It is about 35 miles west of Hastināpura. It is between the confluence of two rivers,

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told by Droṇa, when he found him sleeping under the guardianship of a serpent with expanded hood. The place is mentioned by Ptolemy as (The greek alphabets in the manuscripts), which proves that the legend attached to the name Ādi is as old as the Christian era". Pre-Buddhist literature also tells that there were four families of the Ahi (Nāga) kings. This will also confirm the incidents that Bhīma and Kṛṣṇa stayed with the Garpa and Nāga families for some time.

Kṛṇḍi and Hindan. To go to Hastināpura or Baraut, the river Hindan must be crossed by a boat. The river Jamuna is only 20 miles west of Vāraṇāvata, but the intervening territory is very dry and the water-scarcity is felt particularly in the months of Chaitra and Vaisākha.

Ādi. 133. 30 (Cri.), tells that Kuntī and her five sons left Hastināpura for Vāraṇāvata on the 8th day of the bright half of the Phalguṇa month, when the Nakṣatra was Rohiṇi. As they travelled by chariots they must have reached the place in about four hours. Ādi. 134. 10-11 (Cri.) tells that they stayed as the guests of the different people in town, for ten nights. On the 11th day, Purochana took them to the house which was specially furnished and decorated for them. Ādi. 135. 4, (Cri.) tells that Duryodhana had instructed Purochana to set fire to the house on the 14th of the dark half by the midnight. It will be clear from this that the Pāṇḍavas went to stay in the house on the third day after the Phalguṇa full moon and the burning took place twelve days after their stay.

Ādi. 135. (Cri.) tells that Vidura got the news of the plot secretly, and he had warned the Pāṇḍavas about it and also told them the way in which he had arranged for their escape. The note 1472 to the verse Ādi. 136. 18, (Cri.) tells that a person saw the Pāṇḍavas secretly and cut the passage for their escape in ten days. This tallies with the twelve nights of stay in the shellac house. For all these days Kuntī was calling brahmins and other people and gave them food and distributed charities. The fact that the Pāṇḍavas went to Vāraṇāvata in the month of Phalguṇa can be corroborated as follows. Ādi. 136. 1, tells that Purochana was glad to find that the Pāṇḍavas had full confidence in him and they never doubted a foul play during their stay in the house at the end of the year. Phalguṇa month is the end of the year.

On the 14th day of the dark half of the month, the Pāṇḍavas had given Purochana a good deal of wine for drinking and he was thus completely out of wits. By the midnight, Bhīma set fire to the house and they escaped through the passage, secretly prepared. Ādi. 137. 17, (Cri.), tells that the Pāṇḍavas escaped from the house at midnight. In the note 1494 to that verse we

get the following important detail about the spot they reached. "The five brothers with their mother, who was the sixth, reached the river. They were ferried across the river in a boat. With a favourable wind as well as the current, they could easily cross the river. Then they left the boat and walked by a southward path. This information is given in the following manuscripts:—K4. N, V, B, D. Only D5 omits this information. This proves that the Pāṇḍavas had crossed a river at night. We have already seen that to get out of Vāraṇāvata, the river Hindan must be crossed. It is a big river meeting Jamuna in the south. We thus know the name of the river which the Pāṇḍavas had to cross on that night.

T2, and G, manuscripts supply the following important details about the presence of the boat in the river. "When the Pāṇḍavas went to the river, they saw a sailor, who was waiting for them with a burning torch in his hand. He uttered the word of recognition and thus they were able to put faith in him. He told them that Vidura had given him a large sum of money and he was asked to keep a boat ready at night on the *14th of the dark half* and ferry the persons across the river. Thus we see that there is nothing abnormal or absurd in the account preserved in the manuscripts.

Ādi. 137. 7-16, (Cri.) tells that the person who had dug out the passage filled it with earth so as to avoid suspicion. The news of the death of the Pāṇḍavas and Purochana in the fire reached Dhṛtarāṣṭra the next morning. He expressed grief when he heard the news and issued orders to perform the rituals befitting a royal family. All persons wept much on the occasion. Vidura, however, wept little because he knew the facts. Appendix 1, Art. 86, preserves the important detail that Vidura had divulged the secret of the escape of the Pāṇḍavas to Bhīṣma only, and requested him to keep it secret because that was the best way to keep the Pāṇḍavas safe from further plots.

Bhāgavat X, 57, confirms it in the following manner. "The news of the death of the Pāṇḍavas by fire, reached Dvārakā and both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma arrived at Hastināpura to inquire about the authenticity of the report. Vidura divulged the secret to Kṛṣṇa only. Kṛṣṇa knew that if the secret leaked out,

*Duryodhana would certainly ask his men to kill them. Hence Kṛṣṇa also took part in the weeping and the "Kulyakarṇa" as well as the the Udaka ceremony. The expression *Kulyakarṇa* is very significant, because it is repeated in all the Mbh. manuscripts as well as Bhāgavata.

While Kṛṣṇa was at Hastināpur, Satrājīt, the father of Satyabhāmā, a wife of Kṛṣṇa, was killed by Śatadhanvā and the Syamantaka gem was taken away. Satyabhāmā went to Hastināpura to inform Kṛṣṇa about the incident. Śatadhanvā fled to Mithilā fearing that he would be put to death. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa went in a chariot to Mithilā to trace him and get back the gem. It was known that he was hiding somewhere in the forests near Mithilā. When Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa reached the out-skirts of the forest, Kṛṣṇa asked Balarāma to wait till he found out Śatadhanvā. Kṛṣṇa found him out and even killed him, but he could not secure the gem, because Śatadhanvā had handed it over to Akrura. (It is interesting to note that the Niruktas have preserved the following quarter verse :— "Akrura gives the gem"). When Kṛṣṇa told Balarāma that Syamantaka could not be secured, he thought that Kṛṣṇa was telling a lie in order to keep the gem for himself. He got angry and told Kṛṣṇa that he would not accompany him to Dvārakā. Balarāma then went to Bahulaśva Janaka at Mithilā, who was his friend. Duryodhana had come there in order to be above suspicion that he had planned the burning of the house. Balarāma taught Duryodhana the mace-fight during his stay at Mithilā.

After this confirmatory digression, let us turn to the movements of the Pāṇḍavas. Ādi. 137. 18, (Cri.) tells that the Pāṇḍavas took a southward path, with the help of the stars at night and reached the out-skirts of a dense forest before dawn. They feared that Purochana might escape from the fire and try to find them out. Hence they settled to keep on moving through the forest during the day. Ādi. 138. 4-5, tells that by the evening of the next day, they were passing through a jungle where water was scarce and there were very few edible roots or fruit. They were tired as well as thirsty & they could not walk any further. Kuntī told her sons that it was impossible for her to walk and she was very thirsty. Bhīma asked them to sit under a large Banyan

tree and went in search of water. He had to walk two miles before he reached a pool of water. We have already seen that the twenty mile tract between the river Hindan and the Jamuna has very few streams. It confirms the correctness of the account preserved in the Mbh.

Ādi. 139-143, (Cri.) describe the incident of the fight of Bhīma with the Rākṣasa Hidimbā and the acceptance by Bhīma as a wife (Hidimbā,) the sister of the Rākṣasa, in this forest. The question naturally arises as to how long they stayed in the forest by the side of the Jamuna river. Ādi. 143. 18-30, (Cri.) tells that Ghatotkacha was born in the forest while they were staying there. It means that the Pāṇḍavas stayed there for nine months, but we shall now see that they stayed in the forest for seven months only. Note 1566, on page 619, tells that they stayed in the hut of Hidimbā for seven months. Ādi. 143. 32, (Cri.), tells that Rākṣasa woman give birth to a child, earlier than the normal period. We shall see later that this statement can be confirmed from a future reference about the date of the Svayamvara of Draupadī. Appendix I, Art. 95, lines 60-61, tell "The Svayamvara of Draupadī was to take place in the bright half of Pauṣa when the Nakṣatra was Rohiṇī. The announcement was made 75 days before the event".

It is clear from this that the Pāṇḍavas stayed in the forest on the banks of Jamuna, 20 miles from Vāraṇāvata, till the beginning of the Āśvin bright half. Ādi. 144. (Cri.) tells that the Pāṇḍavas were wearing Valkalas and deer hides, and had allowed the beards to grow in order to avoid recognition. Ādi. 144. 2, tells that they reached the Kīcaka territory after crossing the beautiful territories of Trigarta, Matsya and Pāñcāla. They stayed in the Ekacakrā town, in the house of a brahmin. The incident of the killing of Bakāsura took place near this town. It is thus essential to determine the locality of this town and the period of their stay in the town. We know that the town was in the Kīcaka (Bambu) territory, and this territory was adjoining the Pāñcāla. We know that the Pāñcāla country ended at the confluence of Chambal with Jamuna. Ādi. 138. 74. (Chitra).

Sixty miles further down the course of Jamuna, a big river called Vetravati. (Betwa) meets Jamuna at Hamirpur. The name of the river shows that Bambu grew predominantly in the territory. Vana. 11. 31, testifies the correctness of the statement

as follows. When Bhīma killed Kirmīra in the Kāmyaka forest, he told Bhīma that Baka, who lived in the Bambu forest was his brother. Appendix I, Art. 93, line 27, calls the Ekacakrā town "Vetrakiya-purī". Note 1674, page 649, and Ādi. 160. 9 (Chitr) tell that the house of Baka was of Bambus.

Note 1626, page 637 and note 1661-62, page 648 give the following important clue by means of which we can correctly locate the site of the Ekacakrā town in the vast Kichaka territory. "Baka lives two miles from this town by the side of the Jamuna river." "After killing Baka, Bhīma threatend the other people living there, that if they killed men for the sake of the human flesh, they will be punished with death. The people accepted the condition and they left the Jamuna bank and went to live in a forest where Bibhitaka, Kapittha, Arka, Plaksa, and Śalmali trees grew abundantly. This evidence shows that the Ekacakrā town must be somewhere between the confluence of the Betwa and Jamuna.

Now we shall try to determine how long they stayed in the Ekacakrā town. Ādi. 156. 18 (Chitra) tells that the Pāṇḍavas stayed there for a month, we know that they left Hīḍimbā in the bright fortnight of Āsṛina. The distance between Vāraṇāvata and Hamirpur is about 180 miles. As they went walking they must have required at least a fortnight to reach Ekacakrā. It means that they reached the place in the dark half of the Āsṛina month.

Appendix I. Art. 95, page 944, gives the details as to why the date of the Svayamvara of Draupadī was announced 75 days earlier." When Draupadī was of the marriagable age, (about 18) Drupada was thinking of giving her in marriage to Arjuna and he once expressed his idea to his courtiers. Then some one told Drupada that he had heard of the death of the Pāṇḍavas by fire, at Vāraṇāvata. Drupada was sorry to hear the news. Then some other old person told Drupada that he had observed some omens which convinced him that the Pāṇḍavas were alive somewhere. He then advised Drupada to announce the date of the Svayamvara of Draupadī, a good deal in advance. The Pāṇḍavas will hear the news and they would certainly come here.

Thus the announcement was first made on the 2nd day of the bright half of Kārtika that the Svayamvara of Draupadī would take place in south Pāṇḍola in the bright half of pauna when

the Nakṣatra was Rohiṇi. I have worked out the date of the announcement from the statement in the Mbh. that the announcement was made 75 days in advance.

We have seen that the Pāṇḍavas reached Ekacakrā in the dark half of the Āsṛina month. We know that the Bakāsura incident took place after they stayed in the town for one month. We can thus say that the death of Bakāsura took place in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. Ādi. 165. 3, (Chitra) tells that some days after the death of Bakāsura, a brahmin came to Ekacakrā and he told the news that the Svayamvara of Draupadi was to take place in the month of Pauṣa. The Pāṇḍavas then settled to go to Kāmpilya.

They left the Ekacakrā town probably on the 1st of the bright half of Pauṣa. Ādi. 170. 2-3, (Chitra), tells that the Pāṇḍavas went eastward and after walking for the whole day and night (अहोरात्रेण) reached a place on the banks of the Ganges, called Somāśrayāyaṇam. This statement helps to confirm the conclusion that Ekacakrā must be somewhere near Hamirpur, which is on the confluence of the Betwa and the Jamuna rivers. For, the survey map shows that from Hamirpur the nearest point on the Ganges is 25 miles due east. One can walk only 25 miles in the whole day.

The incident of Chitraratha¹ Gandharva took place at this point on the Ganges. Ādi. 170. 74-80, (Chitra), tells that Chitraratha advised the Pāṇḍavas to choose a brahmin Purohit if they wanted success in their mission. A king cannot keep his

¹ We are not much concerned with the correctness of the details of the Chitraratha Gandharva incident. But it can be established that Chitraratha Gandharva was a historic personality, who stayed in the hilly tract of the Kaimur range, some 40 miles south of the place on the Ganges mentioned above. Ādi. 170. 47 and 54, (CHITRA) tells that Chitraratha Gandharva promised to give 500 horses as a tribute to the Pāṇḍavas. Arjuna told him to present them later when they were required. Sabha. 52. 23-24, (Chitra) tells that Chitraratha sent 400 horses and Tumbaru, his brother, presented 100 horses at the occasion of the Rājasuya sacrifice. It can be verified that this territory bred good horses from still earlier times. Vana. 95. 3, (Chitra) speaks of a Tirtha called Āsvatīrtha on the banks of the Ganges near Kanoj. Pāṇḍavās visited this place while on pilgrimage. Vana. 115, (Chi) tells that a person called Richika Bhārgava performed penance in the place and secured 1000 horses of the well-known Śyāmakarṇa breed and he gave them as a dowry to get as a wife the beautiful daughter of a person living in Kanoj.

*kingdom unless he has some Purohit to advise him. Adi. 183. 1-6, (Chitra) tells that Arjuna asked Chitraratha if he knew any brahmin who would be suitable Purohit for them. Chitraratha told them that a sage called Dhaumya stayed at Utkichakatīrtha near^{by}. He was the elder brother of the sage Devala. Accordingly the Pāṇḍavas went to the Utkichakatīrtha and requested him to be their Purohita, after divulging their identity. The name Utkichaka is very significant, because it shows that Bambu was still the dominant flora in the area. It shows that it was not far from the Ekachakrā town which was known as Vetrakīyapuri.

Adi. 176. 1. (CRI) tells that the Pāṇḍavas went to the south Pāñcāla with their Purohita from the Utkichaka tīrtha. The verses 7 and 8 of the critical edition tell, "The intention of Drupada was to give Draupadi to Arjuna, but he could not speak it out explicitly until he saw Arjuna there. But the Pāṇḍavas arrived at Kāmpilya in the disguise of Brahmins and so they were not recognized though they were present". It will be seen from this that it was a mistake to shift to the Appendix I, the article 95 which gives the details as to why Drupada announced the Svayamvara of Draupadi 75 days in advance. It is not an interpolation as it is supposed to be.

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Mr. Shastri thinks that the word Gandharva means persons living in the Gandhara territory, which he identifies with the territory on both sides of the Indus, mentioned in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa, (Vide :— Appendix I, page 752, of "The Ancient Geography of India"). I have nothing to say with regard to the interpretation of the word in the Rāmāyaṇa context. But we cannot apply that meaning in all the cases where it appears in the Mbh. We have already seen that Chitraratha Gandharva was in the Kaimur hill tract. Mbh. mentions the Gandharva people in five other hill tracts. (1) Hansa and Dimbhaka, who were the generals of Jarāsandha, are referred to as Kauṣika and Chitrseṇa Gandharvas in Sabha. 22. 33, (Chitra) (2) The Ghosha Yātrā in Vanaparva tells of Chitrseṇa Gandharva in the hill tract near Dwaitavana on the banks of the Saraswatī. (3) Adi. 63. 35, (Chitra) tells that when Uparichara, a Chedi king went to stay as a hermit in the Shuktiman hills, many Gandharvas came to him. (4) Vana. 116. 6. (Chitra) tells that Reṇukā, mother of the famous Paraśurāma saw Chitraratha Gandharva enjoying bath in the Ganges. (5) When Draupadi was in the palace of Virāṭa, she told the king that five Gandharvas were protecting her in case of necessity. These references clearly show that these people were not from the Gāndhāra (Gandharva) territory and still they were called Gāndhārvas. We know that Shakuni, who was the brother of Gāndhārī was from the Gāndhāra territory, and still he is never called Gandharva.

Late us now turn to the details preserved in the Mbh. about the place where they stopped near Kāmpilya till Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma came there and recognized them. There is no difficulty in identifying Kāmpilya, the capital of South Pāñcāla, where Drupada stayed after his defeat by Droṇa. Kampila is still the name of a village near the Kaimganj railway station on the B. B. C. I. Railway line between Mathura and Farukabad. Ādi. 187, 7-9 (Chitra) tells that Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa were present in the Svayamvara pendal. Kṛṣṇa saw Bhīma and Arjuna among the Brahmins but he did not recognize them in that garb. He told Balarāma that he remembered the Pāṇḍavas by looking at them. Ādi. 189. 16-24, (Chitra) tells that Kṛṣṇa recognized Bhīma when he smashed his opponents by snatching large boughs from the trees near by. Kṛṣṇa told Balarāma that he had heard about the escape of the Pāṇḍavas from the shellac house. We have seen that Kṛṣṇa knew about the escape of the Pāṇḍavas from Vidura.

Ādi. 191. (Chitra) tells that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma followed Bhīma and Arjuna to a place called Bhārgavāyana, and there they met Kuntī etc. This shows that the place was a few miles away from the town. There is actually a village called Bhargain shown in the survey maps six miles west of Kāmpil. Near it there is another small village called Dhaumapura. We know that the Pāṇḍavas had taken with them the sage Dhaumya as their Purohit. The identity of Bhargain as the place where the Pāṇḍavas stayed incognito can thus be established without the slightest ambiguity.

Some important historic conclusions will be noted down here for future reference. We have seen that Yudhiṣṭhira was declared as Yuvarāj when he was 21, in the month of Chaitra. The Vāraṇavata incident took place three years later. The Kampila incident took place in the month of Pauṣa in the fourth year. This shows that the age of Yudhiṣṭhira was 25 at that time. The age of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa must therefore be 23. Kṛṣṇa was married with Satyabhāmā at this time. But we know that Kṛṣṇa was married with Rukmiṇī first, then with Jāmbuvatī and then with Satyabhāmā. The marriage with Rukmiṇī must therefore have taken place when Kṛṣṇa was 21.

¹ Art. 94, Appendix I of the critical edition tells that the Svayamvara of Draupadī was announced to take place in the month of Phālguna and not in the month of Pauṣa as stated in the Art. 95. I have rejected it because there is no mention of the Nakṣatra in that month. Unless the Nakṣatra in the month is mentioned, the statement has no value.

SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE
ALMOND (BADĀM) IN INDIA —
BETWEEN C. A. D. 100 AND 1900

BY

P. K. GODE

Among nuts of great nutritive value the *almond* plays an important role. The Indian gymnasts are in the habit of eating almonds daily on account of their strength-giving properties. The almonds are largely used in Indian confectionery and cookery. The physicians also prescribe preparations of almonds for their patients after certain stages of recovery from serious types of illness. In view of this importance of the almond in Indian life and culture it is worth while recording some notes on the history of the almond in India on the strength of Indian sources.

The Marathi Dictionary *Śabdakośa* by Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve, Poona, Vol. V (1936) p. 2215, records the word *badām* in the sense of almond but does not give any usages of the word which might enable us to determine the exact time when the *badām* became current in the Marathi language. This Dictionary records *bādām* as the Persian word for the almond from which the Marathi word *badām* is evidently derived. I shall now try to trace the history of *badām* in the Sanskrit sources.

(1) Bhāvamiśra (c. A. D. 1550) mentions about “150 drugs (in his *Bhāvaprakāśa*) more than are found in *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*, such as *Ahiphena* (opium), *Khakhas* (poppy seeds), *Kusumba* (safflower) *Methica* (fenu-greek), *Vātavairi* (almond) etc.”¹

(2) K. M. Vaidya records the following references to *Vātāma* (= almond) on p. 513 of his *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayakośa*, Trichur, 1936 :—

¹ See pp. 119-20 of *Aryan Medical Science* by Thakore Saheb of Gondal, London, 1896,

(i) The *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa (about A. D. 850 according to Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya)¹ refers to *Vātāma* in the *Sūtrasthāna*, chapter 6, verses 120 and 123 (Pages 110 and 111 of N. S. Press Edition, 1939):—

“वातामाभिषुका क्षोडमुकूलकनिकोचकम्” ॥ १२० ॥

“वातामायुष्णवीर्यं तु कफपित्तकरं सरम्” ॥ १२३ ॥

Hemādri comments:— “वातामायुरुमाणान्तं-उत्तरापथे प्रसिद्धम् । वातामः—स्निग्धमधुरमज्जं फलम् । आक्षोढं मदनफलसदृशं मध्ये किञ्चिदुन्नत-रेखम् । मुकूलकं-दन्तफिलसदृशं । निकोचकं-अङ्गोलफलसदृशम् । प्रियालं-चारफलम् ।”

(ii) The *Bhāvaprakāśa* gives the names of *vātāma* as follows:—

“वातादो वातवैरी स्यान्नेत्रोपमफलस्तथा ।”

and also mentions its properties:—

“वाताद उष्ण सुस्निग्धो वातघ्नः शुक्रकृद् गुरुः ।

वताद्मज्जा मधुरो वृष्यः पित्तानिलापहः ।

स्निग्धोष्णः कफकृन्नेदो रक्तपित्तविकारिणाम् ॥”

(3) The *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa refers to *Vātāma* in the following verse:—

“वातामाभिषुकाक्षोडमुकूलकनिकोचकम् ।

उरुमाणं प्रियालं च वृंहणं गुरु शीतलम् ॥ १७० ॥”

(*Sūtrasthāna*, edited by V. R. Kinjawadekar, Poona, 1940, p. 62, chap. VII—अन्नस्वरूपविज्ञानीय). The properties of *Vātāma* are referred to in the following line of verse 176:—

“वातामायुष्णवीर्यं तु कफपित्तकरं सरम् ।”

According to Hoernle Vāgbhaṭa I, the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* belongs to about A. D. 625, while Vāgbhaṭa II, the

¹ See p. 153 of *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June 1947). Prof. Bhattacharya rejects Dr. Hoernle's chronology for medical works and records his own tentative scheme as follows:—

Before A. D. 600—Haricandra.

Between A. D. 600 and 900—Āyurvedasāra, Bindusāra, Siddhasāra etc.

About A. D. 850—Vāgbhaṭa.

About A. D. 875-900—Jejjaṭa.

A. D. 900-925—Mādhavakara, who comes after Jejjaṭa, according to Nisāla.

About A. D. 950—Candraṭa

A. D. 975-1000—Vṛndakunḍa.

A. D. 1040-1050—Cakrapāṇi.

author of the *Aṣṭāṅghrdaya* belongs to 8th or 9th cent. A. D. Prof. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya does not believe in this theory of two persons of the name Vāgbhaṭa. He believes that the *Aṣṭāṅghrdaya* and the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* are the works of one author Vāgbhaṭa, who flourished about A. D. 850. ¹

(4) The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna*, chap. 46, p. 228 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1938) mentions *Vātāma* in the following line :—

“ वाताम-अक्षोड-अभिषुक- निचुल-पिचु- निकोचक-प्रभृ-
तानि ॥ १८७ ॥ ”

The commentator Dallana (c. A. D. 1200 according to Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya) ² states that *Vātāma* (almond) and other fruits ³ mentioned by *Suśruta* belong to *Uttarāpatha* or northern region (“ वातामादीनि... उत्तरापथे जातानि तत्रैव प्रसिद्धानि ”). Dallana records the views of other commentators on *Vātāma* and other names of fruits (mentioned by *Suśruta*) as follows :—

“ केचिद् व्याख्यानयन्ति—

वातामः—मज्जमधुरस्निग्धो दीर्घाकारः ।

अक्षोडः—मदनफलाकारफलो मध्ये किञ्चिदुन्नतरेखान्वितः
पर्वतपिलुः “ अखरोट् ” इति लोके ।

अभिषुकः—“ अभिषुः ” इति लोके ।

निकोचकम्—औत्तरापथिकं कोल्लकफलम् ।

उत्तरापथादवगन्तव्यम् । ”

(5) The *Carakasamhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna*, chap. 27, verse 157, p. 161 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1941) also refers to *Vātāma* (almond) in the following verse :—

“ वातामाभिषुकाक्षोटमुकूलकनिकोचकाः ।

गुरुष्णस्निग्धमधुराः सौरमाणा बलप्रदाः ॥ १५७ ॥ ”

The commentator Cakrapāṇidatta (c. A. D. 1050) observes :—
“ वातामादयः औत्तरापथिकाः . ”

¹ See *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, Poona), Vol. XXV, pp. 217-230.

² See p. 132 of *Indian Histo. Quarterly* (June 1947) — “ Dallana's date is about 1200 A. D., being cited by Hemādri, and himself citing Halāyudha. ”

³ *Quintus Curtius* [VII, 4, 26 (18)] speaks highly of “ orchards and vineyards of Bactria (Bāhlika) the heart of ancient Iran which was directly in the great trade route to India. (See p. 3 of *Bactria* by H. G. Rawlinson, Bombay, 1909). The fruits like *vātāma* etc. mentioned by *Suśruta* were possibly from ancient Iran where they were produced in abundance.

In view of these references to *Vātāma* (almond) in earliest medical texts, the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* and the *Carakasaṃhitā*, as recorded above the statement of Watt (*Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 343) that *almond* is "not mentioned by older writers" is obviously incorrect.

The statement of Cakrapāṇidatta (c. A. D. 1050), Dallāṇa (c. A. D. 1200) and Hemādri (c. A. D. 1260) that *Vātāma* belongs to *Uttarāpatha* or northern region is correct. When Ibn Battuta (A. D. 1325-1354) visited the Governor of Multan he presented this Governor "Some raisins and almonds." In this connection he observes:- "These are among the greatest gifts that can be made to them, since they *do not grow in their land* and are imported from Khurāsān."¹ In the light of this statement we may safely conclude that almonds (*Vātāma*) were imported into India from *Uttarāpatha* or northern region viz. Persia or Khurāsān specifically as stated by Battuta as they were not grown in India. Very probably the trade in *almonds* and other dried fruit from Persia with India was carried on from great antiquity.² This presumption is supported by the references to *Vātāma* (almonds) in the *Carakasaṃhitā* and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as we have noted above. The continuity of this trade is further vouched by Bernier,³ who mentions that "Hindustan consumes an immense quantity of fresh fruit from *Samarakand*, *Bali* (*Balkh*), *Bocara* and *Persia*, such as *melons*, *apples*, *pears*, and *grapes*," "and likewise dried fruit, such as *almonds*, *pistachio*, and various other *small nuts*, *plums*, *apricots*, and *raisins*." It is worth while tracing the history of foreign⁴ dried and fresh fruit imported into

¹ Vide p. 189 of *Travels* ed. by H. A. R. Gibb, London, 1939.

² Compare the anecdote about Syrian *figs* and *raisin* wine sent by Antiochos Soter of Syria to Bindusāra (B. C. 298) the father of Emperor Aśoka. This anecdote is "a tangible proof of the familiar intercourse between the Sovereign of India and his ally in Western Asia" observes Vincent Smith (See p. 147 of *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1914).

³ Vide pages 203-234 of *Bernier's Travels* (A. D. 1656-1668), Constable & Co., London, 1891.

⁴ The *Rājanighaṇṭu* (Anandashram, Poona, 1896) of Narahari (c. A. D. 1450) mentions a variety of grapes from *Uttarāpatha* :-

Page 170 — द्राक्षा—“उत्तरापथिका प्रोक्ता कपिला सा फलोत्तमा । स्वादुपाका मधुरसा मृद्वीका गोस्तनी स्मृता ॥ ५८ ॥

India from ancient times to the present day by sea and land. The early Sanskrit medical texts and their voluminous commentaries, if studied minutely, will yield ample material for such a study.

(6) Vaidya Bapalal G. Shah in his *Nighaṇṭu Adarśa*, Vol. I (Ahmedabad, 1927) pp. 479-480 quotes the following verses from the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (c. A. D. 1550) and from the *Madanapālanighaṇṭu* (c. A. D. 1375) :—

भावप्रकाशः—“ वाताद् उष्ण सुस्निग्धो वातघ्नः शुक्रकृत् गुरुः ।
वातादमज्जा मधुरो वृष्यः पित्तानिलापहः ॥ ”

मदनपालनिघण्टु—

“ बदाममुष्णं सुस्निग्धं वातघ्नं बलशुक्रकृत् ॥ ”

निघण्टरत्नाकर—

“ बादामः सारकः चोष्णो गुरुरम्लः कफप्रदः । ” etc.

It is a matter for investigation whether any almond trees were cultivated in India between c. A. D. 1375 when the *Madanapālanighaṇṭu* was composed and c. A. D. 1550 the date of the *Bhāvaprakāśa* of Bhāvamīśra. I may here record the evidence of *Ain-i-Akbari* (c. A. D. 1590) regarding the almond as follows :—

Page 61 (Vol. I of Eng. Trans. of *Ain-i-Akbari* by Francis Gladwin, Calcutta, 1897).

— “ *The Fruiter* — His Majesty is exceedingly fond of fruit, and by the great encouragement he has given to the cultivation of fruit-trees, skilful people have come with their families from Persia and Tartary and settled in this country. ”

— “ peaches, almonds, pistachios, pomegranates and many other fruits, have been introduced into Hindustan. ”

Page 63 — In the list of *Tartarian Fruits* almonds are mentioned as follows :—

“ Almonds — 28 Dams per Seer

Almonds in the Shell — 11 Dams per Seer. ”

The above evidence warrants an inference that almonds were not grown in India prior to Akbar's reign, but Akbar

encouraged their cultivation¹ in India along with the cultivation of many other Tartarian fruits by bringing expert horticulturists from Persia and Tartary.

If the reference to *Vātāma* (almond in the *Carakasamhitā* is genuine we can compare it to the references to the *almond* made by Pliny the Elder (A. D. 23-79) in his *Natural History* (Books XII-XVI Trans. by H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library, London, 1945). In particular the following remarks of Pliny on the *almond* are noteworthy:— Page 351— Books XV-XXIV, 88-91:—

“ A third variety of the nut class is the *almond*, which has an outer integument like that of the walnut, but thinner, and also a second covering consisting of a shell; but the kernel is unlike a walnut's in its breadth and its hard part is more bitter. It is doubtful whether this tree existed in Italy in the time of *Cato*,² as he calls almonds “ *Greek nuts* ” a name which some people also retain in the class of walnuts. At the present day the *almonds* of *Thasos* and *Alba* are famous, and two kinds grown at *Taranto*, one with a brittle shell and the other with a hard shell which are very large in size and very little rounded in shape the *pistachio* (see Book XIII, 51. §83). This also was likewise first brought into Italy at the same time and it was simultaneously introduced into Spain by *Pompeius Flaccus*, Knight of Rome, who was serving with *Vitellius*. ”

Page 479 — “ In the actual neighbourhood of Rome *Chestnuts* and *Cherries* only grow with reluctance and the *peach-tree* round *Tusculum*, and *almonds* are laboriously grown from graft, also *Tarracina* teems with whole woods of them. ”

¹ A. K. Nairne in his *Flowering Plants of Western India* (London, 1894, p. 107) mentions the *almond* tree, *badām*, *Prunus amygdalus* as cultivated in the Deccan, along with the *Strawberry*, the *peach* tree and various roses.

² Smith's *Smaller Classical Dictionary* (ed. by Blakeney, London, 1900), pp. 134-135, records two persons of the name *Cato* viz.

(1) *M. Porcius Cato* or *Cato Major* or the Censor (Born B. C. 234 and died in B. C. 149 at the age of 85) wrote several works, of which only the *De Re Rustica* on agriculture has come down to us.

(2) *M. Porcius Cato*, great grandson of the above *Cato* was born in B. C. 95. He was an adherent of the Stoic School and noted for his rigid morality. He put an end to his own life to avoid falling into the hands of Caesar, his enemy.

Possibly Pliny refers to *Cato Major*, the author of *De Re Rustica*.

The cultivation of *almond* trees in Italy many years before the time of Pliny is conclusively proved by the foregoing extracts. Unfortunately we have no means for determining if the almond trees were cultivated in India during the first few centuries of the Christian era, during which the early medical texts of *Caraka* and *Suśruta*, which mention *Vātāma* (almond) and its properties, were composed. So far I have not traced any references to *Vātāma* in Sanskrit non-medical texts, early or late.

(7) Katābhat in his *Nighaṇṭasaṁgraha* (Junagadh, 1893, pp. 542-543) quotes verses about *almond* from the *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Madanapālanighaṇṭu*, *Nighaṇṭaratnākara*. He quotes the following verse of Śivadatta :—

“ बाताक्षोमिष्टमग्नास्याक्षेत्रोपमफलस्तथा ।¹

मञ्जरीकुसुमश्चैव दीर्घजिग्धदलो द्रुमः ॥ इति शिवदत्तः ”

Possibly this verse belongs to the *Śivakośa*, a medical lexicon by Śivadatta, known as Karpūriya Śivadatta (Between A. D. 1625 and 1700 — see my article in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Parts 1 and 2, pp. 66-70).

(8) Having recorded some data about the history of the *almond* (*vātāma*) in India as revealed by Sanskrit medical texts we are in a position to consider its history outside India. In this connection the following notes from the chapter on *Almond* from “ *Sino-Iranica* ” by Berthold Laufer, Chicago, 1919, pp. 405-409, will be found very illuminating :—

• Page 405 — *Iran* was the centre from which the *almond* (*Amygdalus Communis* or *Prunus amygdalus*) spread to *Europe*, *China*, *Tibet* and *India*. In *India* the *almond* is cultivated occasionally in *Kashmir* and the *Punjab*, where its fruits are mediocre. “ *It was doubtless imported from Iran.* ” The almond yields a gum, which is still exported from *Persia* to *Bombay* and thence re-exported to *Europe*. The almond grows spontaneously

¹ My friend Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri in his letter to me of 24-6-49 makes the following remarks about the almond :—

“ The information sent by you about *badām*, as we call it in *Gujarati* you say is *bādām* you also know that eyes are compared to *bādām* (of the epithet “ *netropamaphala* ” and a weeping eye is called “ *शिशुर् कशाम् बादाम* ” in *Persian*. Thus it has passed from a dried nut into a poet's fancy.”

14. [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

in *Afghanistan*, the *Zarafshan* valley, and in the *Chotkal* mountains, as also in *Aderbeidjan*, *Kurdistan* and *Mesopotamia*.

— The Greeks derived the almond from Asia Minor and from Greece it was apparently introduced into Italy. The Persian kings made use of the almonds daily. The almond is mentioned in *Pahlvi* literature.

— The Arabic name of the almond is *lewze lauz*. Under this name Abu Mansur (A. D. 970) in his Persian pharmacopoeia mentions its properties. He also mentions *sweet almond* (*bādām-i-Sirin*) and *bitter almond* (*bādām-i tūlx*).

— Bitter almonds were used as a currency in Gujarat, where they were brought from Persia in the time of Aurangzeb. There is no fear that children will amuse themselves by eating them (See Tavernier's *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 27).

Page 406 — Names for almond in different languages :—

(1) *Chinese* — *p'o-tan*, *bwa-dam* (derived from Iranian).

(2) *Middle Persian* — *vadam*.

(3) *New Persian* — *bādām*.

(4) *Kurd* — *badem*, *beiv*, *baif*, "almond-tree."

(5) *Tibetan* — *ba-dam*.

(6) *Uigur* and *Osmanli* — *badam*.

(7) *Sanskrit*—*vātāma* or *bādāma*, derived from the *Middle Persian*.

— Arab merchant *Soleiman* (A. D. 851) mentions almonds among the fruit growing in *China*.

Page 409 — The old tradition concerning the origin of the almond in Persia is still alive in modern Chinese authors.

— "It may be of course, that the almond has shared the fate of the date-palm, and that its cultivation is now extinct in China."

I hope the data collected in this paper about the history of the almond (*badām*) in India and outside would be useful not only to the students of the history of Indian *Materia Medica* but also to the students who care to investigate the history of Indian culture and its indebtedness to other countries in direct or indirect cultural contact with India for more than two thousand years.

THE TEXT-PROBLEM OF THE BAUDHĀYANA

ĀDHĀNA SŪTRA

BY

C. G. KASHIKAR

The Baudhāyana śrauta sūtra is acknowledged on all hands as the oldest of all the extant śrauta sūtras.¹ This is evident from the character of the sūtra itself. The sūtra is a Pravacana, i. e. a ritual fixed by oral tradition. The style and language of the sūtra are similar to those of the Brāhmaṇas. It lays down the ritual in an extensive manner and quotes the mantras in full. It often quotes extensively from the Brāhmaṇas.

Besides the main sūtra, the text contains Dvaidha and Karmānta sūtras. Dvaidha sūtras are those in which different opinions of scholars of the Baudhāyana school are recorded. Among these Baudhāyana, Śālikī, Aupamanyava, Aupamanyavi-putra, Āñjigavi, Kātya etc. stand prominent. The relation of the Dvaidha to the main sūtra appears to be threefold: (1) Frequently the opinion of Baudhāyana or Śālikī or somebody else is adopted in the main sūtra and the different opinions of others are recorded in Dvaidha. (2) Sometimes the point in dispute is altogether dropped in the main sūtra and all the different opinions are noted in Dvaidha. (3) Sometimes the opinions are all given in the main sūtra and the differences are shown in Dvaidha.² Praśnas 20-23 are covered by the Dvaidha sūtra. The Karmānta sūtra is a supplement to the main sūtra. Things which are not said in the main sūtra are given in the Karmānta which covers Praśnas 24-26. The Dvaidha and Karmānta sūtras are, however, not later in origin.

The construction of the Baudhāyana sūtra is not so systematic as that of the later sūtras. For example, Baudh. Dharma sūtra 1. 15 gives the Paribhāṣā which is applicable both to the Śrauta

¹ Cf. W. Oeland, *Das Rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, Leipzig, 1903; A. B. Keith, *Taittirīya Samhitā* Part I, Introduction p. xlvī, Harvard University, Press, 1914.

² e. g. comp. (1) Baudh. 1.6 : 20.6 (2) 20.10. The main sūtra is silent on the point. (3) 1.19 : 20.14.

as well as to the Grhya sūtras. The sūtra has not come down in an unbroken tradition. Some portions are completely lost. For example, the Kaukili Sautrāmaṇi. The enumeration of chapters is not unanimous in all MSS. There are whole passages which bear signs of later construction and are evidently either interpolated at a very early stage or are at least misplaced. The Ādhāna sūtra of Baudhāyana is a typical case in this respect and I propose here to subject it to a critical examination. Praśna II of the sūtra deals with Ādhāna (Vol. I. pp. 34-68) and Karmānta 24. 12-17 forms a supplement to the same.

The present order of the rites in the Ādhāna sūtra may be recorded first. Baudh. 2. 1 gives *Upavyāharana*, i. e. pronunciation of the desire of the sacrificer to perform the Ādhāna ceremony (and other sacrifices). Baudh. 2. 2-4 deals with the procuring of the sacrificial place from the priests (*Devayajanayūcanam*) and the selection of the priests (*Rtvigvaranam*). Baudh. 2. 5 reproduces the whole Anuvāka called *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ* which the sacrifice recites while looking at the water in a waterpot placed at the crossing of roads in the southern direction. Baudh. 2. 6-7 does not give a continuous ritual, but contains supplements like the Karmānta. Baudh. 2. 8-11 describes the ceremony of *Upavasathagavi* which prescribes the playing at dice by the sacrificer with his sons, winning a cow in the same and sacrificing her for the Pitr̥s. Baudh. 2. 12 begins with the enumeration of materials necessary for the Agnyādhāna, discusses the time suitable for the same, directs to construct the sacrificial chamber, instructs the sacrificer and his wife to bathe and partake of food prepared for them. Baudh. 2. 13-14 describes the rite of *Brahmaudana*. Baudh. 2. 15-21 asks to hand over the *Araṇis* to the sacrificer at night; during the closing hours at night the Adhvaryu puts the *Sambhāras* in the five fire-places, the fire is churned from the *Araṇis* at dawn and is laid in the fire-places at Sunrise; the sacrificer then offers prayers to the fires, performs several sacrifices connected with the laying of fires, observes certain sacred rules (*Vratas*) for twelve days and then performs the Anvārambhanīyeṣṭi after which he is entitled and bound to perform the regular Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa sacrifices.

Now we have to see whether the above order of the sūtra is in consonance with the ritual of the Agnyādhāna. The original source of the ritual is naturally the Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa text. The Taittirīya śākhā to which the Baudhāyana sūtra belongs, does not, however, describe the Ādhāna rite in a strict order. The Agnyādheya is described in T. Br. 1. 1. 2 to 1. 2. 1. The topics dealt here are enumerated below: Anuvāka 2 gives the time for Ādhāna. Anu. 3 deals with putting in the Sambhāras. Anu. 4 describes the actual laying of the fires. Anu. 5 goes on with the same and describes the sacrifices called *Tanūhaviṃśi*. Anu. 6 describes the same as well as other sacrifices and Dakṣiṇā. Anu. 7 gives mantras for the Ādhāna. Anu. 8 gives the Brāhmaṇa of the same. Anu. 9 describes the Brahmaudana, Manthana and Ādhāna. Anu. 10 describes the laying of five fires. Anu. 1 of the next Prapāṭhaka gives further mantras for the Ādhāna. Thus the ritual in the T. Br. is not so comprehensive as that in the sūtra. We can, however, draw a general outline of the ceremony out of the stray directions given: The Brāhmaudanika fire is kindled one year before the Ādhāna day, or 12 or 3 nights before that. (We shall call this day the "Preliminary Day"). The fire is then maintained until the day of Ādhāna. In the evening preceding the Ādhāna the fire is rekindled and the Sambhāras are put in the fire-places. Next early morning the fire is churned out of the *Araṇis* and laid in the five places, the Āhavanīya fire being placed exactly at Sunrise. Various sacrifices are then performed. This sketch of the Ādhāna ceremony drawn from the T. Br. is sufficient for our purpose. We have to fix the order of the Baudhāyana sūtra in the light of this, as well as from internal evidence and the comparison with the other sūtras.

Baudh. 2. 1-4 lays down the rites of Upavyāharana, Devayajana-yācana and Rtvigvarana. The sūtra begins: अथोपव्याहरणम् । It is to be considered whether these are the opening rites of the Agnyādheya. The T. Br., as seen above, does not speak of these rites. Nor are they described by the other sūtras in this connection. The Upavyāharana gives all the different pronunciations of the desire to perform the various sacrifices, namely सर्वकामोऽग्निपातये । स्वर्गकामो दक्षिणमासाय्यां यजे । स्वर्गकामश्चाहुर्मासैर्वये

and so on. Then there is the Devayajanayācana. Here the sacrificer begs of each and every priest the sacrificial place. He thus addresses all the sixteen and more priests required in a Soma sacrifice. In fact there is no occasion in the Agnyādhāna for asking for the sacrificial place, since it takes place in the home of the sacrificer. Moreover, it does not require that number of priests. The Rtvigvarāṇa rite also instructs the sacrificer to select all his priests. These two rites are, therefore, directly connected with the Soma sacrifice and are described as such by the other sūtras. According to the Baudhāyana sūtra, however, the sacrificer seems to have selected all the priests on the occasion of the Ādhāna ceremony and to have invited them for performing the particular sacrifice whenever an occasion arose. Thus Baudh. 24. 12 says: अथाप्यग्न्याधेय एव ऋत्विजां वरणं प्रथममुदाहरामः ।¹ The Prayogas of the Baudhāyana school also instruct to select the priests on the occasion of the Ādhāna. These priests are to be selected as permanent priests, hence their qualifications are laid down in the main sūtra² as well as in the Karmānta.³ These family priests are to be replaced for special reasons,⁴ which also shows that their appointments were permanent. The selection of the priests at the Ādhāna must, therefore, be considered as certain. This also applies to the selection of the sacrificial place. The proper time to perform these rites seems to be the morning of the day preceding the actual laying of the fires. The preliminary day is hardly suitable for them. The sūtra lays down Devayajana-yācana first and Rtvigvarāṇa afterwards. In fact the former cannot take place unless the latter is done. The Baudhāyana

¹ The 'Subodhini' commentary on this says: ऋत्विजां वरणद्वयमुक्तं । उपस्थाहर्षणे आदौ सर्वकर्मार्थमेकं वरणं तत्तत्तत्र कर्मणि तेषां विनियोग एकं वरणमिति तान् कर्मणः कर्मणो वृणीतेत्यत्र । तत्र प्रथमं अग्न्याधेय एव उदाहरामो वयं तत्रैव आदित ऋत्वि-
वरणस्य प्रसक्तत्वत् । The Subodhini is a very comprehensive and useful commentary on the Baudhāyana sūtra. It generally follows the "Vivaraṇa" of Bhavasvāmi the oldest known commentator of Baudhāyana. Its author is not known. MSS. of the commentary are available at Baroda, Poona, Tanjore, Madras, Mysore and other places. Unfortunately the commentary so far available ends with the fifth Prāśna. Caland does not seem to have known this commentary.

² Baudh. 2.3.

³ Baudh. 24.12.

⁴ Ibid.

sūtra means the same order when it says in 2. 6 : उपव्याहृत्यर्विजो हत्वाहयित्वा देवयजनं याचित्वा. In the Soma sacrifice explained in Satyāsādhā and other sūtras Devayajanayācana follows Rtvig-varaṇa. So the original order of Baudh. 2. 1-4 may possibly be 2, 1; 3, 4, 2.

The next portion, i. e. Baudh. 2. 5 fully reproduces the mantras called *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ*. It begins: सिँहे मे मन्युर्व्यात्रि मेऽन्तरामयो etc. Curiously enough, not a word is said here about the act in which these mantras are to be recited. According to Baudh. 2. 8 these *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ* are to be recited by the sacrificer, as already said, on the day preceding the Ādhāna, while looking in a waterpot placed on the crossing of roads in the southern direction.¹ Had the composer of the sūtra intended to reproduce the whole Anuvāka, he would have done so while laying down this rite. There he simply says: सिँहे मे मन्युर्व्यात्रि मेऽन्तरामय इत्यान्तमेतमनुवाकं निगद्य। The reproduction of the whole Anuvāka in Baudh. 2. 5 is therefore, not in consonance with Baudh. 2. 8, hence Baudh. 2. 5 cannot have belonged to the original main sūtra.

Baudh. 2. 6, 7 begins: अथेदमग्न्याधेयं । तस्य कः कर्मण उपक्रमो भवतीति । उक्तानृतुनक्षत्राण्युक्तमात्मनः पुरश्चरणं । कथमत्रानुपूर्व्यं भवति । etc. The style of this portion is exactly the same as the Karmānta sūtra. The statement that the Rtus, Nakṣatras and self-purification are already spoken of, is contrary to the fact. So here is a clear misplacement of the text. Dr. Caland² has suggested that this part might have been misplaced for Baudh. 24. 16 (अथात ऋतुनक्षत्राणामेव मीमांसा-Karmānta). "This misplacement must have taken place at a very early date since Bhavasvāmi who must have lived in the 8th century A. D. knows the sūtra in the same redaction as it now lies before us". The mere exchange of Baudh. 2. 6, 7 for 24. 16 as suggested by Dr. Caland, however, hardly meets the situation. Both these portions clearly bear signs of the Karmānta sūtra. Baudh. 24. 12 deals not only with the Rtus

¹ उदपात्रमादधेमां दिशं नीत्वा चतुष्पथ एतस्मिन्नेवोदपात्रेऽवेक्षमाणं पाध्मनो विनिधी-
न्वाचयति सिँहे मे मन्युर्व्यात्रि मेऽन्तरामय इत्यान्तमेतमनुवाकं निगद्यापः परास्य पात्रमन्त-
वेक्षमाणा आचयति ।

² Das Ritueller Sūtra des Baudhāyana, pp. 7-8.

and Nakṣatras but also with certain other things,¹ and is related to the sūtra अथातो नक्षत्राणामेव मीमांस्ता अथात ऋतूनामेव मीमांस्ता (Baudh. 2. 12). Baudh. 2. 6, 7 deals with many different points in connection with the procedure which has yet to be laid down, and hence cannot be a part of the original sūtra.

The next possibility is that Baudh. 2. 5-7 may belong to the Karmānta sūtra. This is possible only if it fits well with the same. On comparing the points of discussion in 2. 5-7 with those in 24. 12-17 it is found that the former fit in neither before nor after the latter.² No continuous order of the subjects is obtained by placing the former before or after the latter. There is an admixture of subjects between these two. We have, therefore, to conclude that Baudh. 2. 5-7 is nothing but an interpolation. The possibility of interpolations in the Baudhāyana sūtra is already pointed out by Dr. Caland. The order of Baudh. 2. 5-7 should be 2. 6, 5, 7 because the mantras *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ* to be recited before the Upavasathagavi fit in between the subjects discussed in 2. 6 and 7.

Signs of the character of interpolation are not wanting in 2. 5-7. The unnecessary reproduction of the whole Anuvāka of *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ* is itself a proof. Baudh. 2. 7 says: अथ यदि गां न लभते मेषमजं वा लभतेऽपि वा द्यूतमोदनं पक्वा तस्योपरिष्टात्पशूतमाज्यं पयो वानीय तस्मादेतत्सर्वं करोति यद्ववा कार्यम् । These options of sheep, goat or rice for the cow are entirely discordant with the spirit of the Baudhāyana sūtra. This rite of Upavasathagavi is practically discarded in the other sūtras and it is to keep pace with these sūtras that the interpolation seems to have been effected. Then again it says:—अपि द्यौपासनमेवाभिप्रज्जन्वर्धमोपासनं कुर्वन्ति सर्वे वा । The main

¹ It first says ऋतूनेषामेव व्याख्यास्यामोऽथ छन्दोऽसीति । Then it speaks of Nakṣatras: यथैतद्ववति रुक्मिणस्वमिमादधीत etc. Then again it opens another topic: अथात आर्त्तिजान्यग्न्याधेयानि व्याख्यास्यामो etc.

² The order of subjects in 24. 12-17 (Karmānta) is as follows: Selection of priests, collection of the Sambhāras, Brahmaudana, putting in the Sambhāras, singing of Sāmāns, revolving the chariotwheel, time of Ādhāna, Pūrṇāhuti and the Agnihotrahoma without reciting the mantras. 25 gives the *Pāpmano Vinidhayaḥ*. 26 deals with the formal preparation of the fire-places and mantras to be recited at the formal collection of the Sambhāras. 27 speaks about the Upavasathagavi, kindling of the Brāhmaudanika fire, putting in the Sambhāras, offering the Samidhs to the fires and the sacrifices to be performed in connection with the Ādhāna.

Baudhāyana sūtra asks to bring a specific fire from the village to place as the Brāhmaudanika fire. The above sūtra allows an option to establish the whole or half of the Aupāsana fire instead. Āpastamba (5. 4. 12) and other sūtras direct to lay down the Aupāsana fire only as the Brāhmaudanika fire. The interpolation seeks to fall in these sūtras. The character of 2. 5-7 as an interpolation may thus be considered as proved. The commentators have not overlooked the mistaken position of Baudh. 2. 5-7 and other places and have tried to somehow explain the same.¹

Baudh. 2. 8-11 explains the rite of Upavasathagavi in which the sacrificer plays at dice with his sons, wins a cow and offers her to the Pitṛs. As the sūtra itself shows,² this takes place on the day preceding the Ādhāna, evidently after Upavyāharana, etc. This cow sacrifice is not found in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, nor do we find it in any other sūtra. All the other sūtras direct the sacrificer to play at dice and win a cow after laying the fires, obtain rice in exchange of the cow and offer it (the rice) to the priests.

Baudh. 2. 12-14 begins with the enumeration of materials necessary for the Ādhāna ceremony, discusses the time suitable

¹ The Subodhīnī says: यद्यप्यग्न्याधेयस्योपवसथ इत्यग्न्याधेयस्योपवसथिकं कर्म विधीयते अग्नीनाधास्यमानो भवति स उपकल्पयत इत्यादिना च सूत्रेणाधानं विधीयते तथा चात्राग्न्याधेये ये पदार्था विविक्षितास्तेषां तत्रैव तत्सम्प्रयोगावसरे विधानं युक्तं प्रयोक्तृणां बुद्धिसौकर्यसंभवादिति तत्रापि विचित्रगतिः सूत्रकारः एवमपि सूत्रयितुं शक्यमिति वाग्बिभूति-प्रदर्शनायाः सूत्रयदिति व्येयम् ।

Similarly whenever a point occurred to which reference is already made in 2.5-7, the commentators point out the same. For example, the sacrificial fees of Agnyādhēya are laid down in 2.19. A reference to these has already occurred in 2.7. So the Subodhīnī on 2.19 says: अत्रानुकल्पाः ताश्चेन्नाधिगच्छेदित्यादिना सूत्रेण पूर्वमुक्ताः । While dealing with the sūtras in 2.6, 7 the Subodhīnī refers to the points by simply saying that "the sūtrakāra will speak of this afterwards" (वक्ष्यति). Reference has already been made to the sūtra उक्तान्युत्तुनक्षत्राण्युक्तमात्मनः पुरश्चरणम् । Subodhīnī says about this sūtra that they have been dealt with in the Brāhmaṇa as well as in the Baudhāyana Dharma sūtra । (उक्तिकास्वभिमादधीतेत्यादिनां वसन्ता ब्राह्मणोऽभिमादधीतेत्यादिना च ब्राह्मणेन अग्न्याधेयस्य ऋतवो नक्षत्राणि च विहितानि । आत्मनः पुरः अग्न्याधेयात्पूर्वं चरणं कर्तव्यं कर्म उक्तं विहितं धर्मप्रश्ने 'जपहोमेष्टिंश्चाद्यैः शोधयित्वा स्वविभ्रह्म्' इत्यादि ।)

² अथाग्न्याधेयस्योपवसथ इत्युपकल्पयते etc.

for the same, advises to construct the sacrificial chamber and instructs the sacrificer and his wife to bathe and partake of food prepared for them. Further on it describes the rite of Brahmaudana. If we compare this with the directions in the T. Br., it becomes clear that these are the preliminary matters of the Ādhāna and are to be carried out on the preliminary day. All the other sūtras have laid down the procedure of Ādhāna exactly in the same way. Baudh. 2. 12 begins with the sūtra: अग्नीनाधास्यमानो भवति स उपकल्पयते which sounds like the beginning of the Ādhāna ceremony. The beginnings of the other rites in Baudhāyana have also identical construction. The Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifice begins: आमावास्येन वा पौर्णमासेन वा हविषा यक्ष्यमाणो भवति । स पुरस्तादेव हविरातश्चनक्षुपकल्पयते ॥ Punarādhāna begins: अग्नीन् पुनराधास्यमानो भवति... स उपकल्पयते । Pīṇḍapitryajña begins: पिण्डपितृयज्ञं करिष्यन्क्षुपकल्पयते । The Nirūḍha Paśubandha begins: पशूना यक्ष्यमाणो भवति स उपकल्पयते । The Cāturmāsya sacrifices begin: वैश्वदेवहविर्भिर्यक्ष्यमाणो भवति...स उपकल्पयते । The Agniṣṭoma sacrifice begins: अग्निष्टोमेन यक्ष्यमाणो भवति स उपकल्पयते । These instances are enough to show the style of Baudhāyana as regards the beginning of the description of a particular rite. That Baudh. 2. 12 formed the beginning of Baudhāyana's Ādhāna sūtra requires no further proof. The portion ending with Baudh. 2. 11 deals with the Upavasathagavi which is not connected in any way with 2. 12.

Baudh. 2. 13-14 describes the rite of Brahmaudana. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa directs twofold performance of this rite¹: first, on the preliminary day and second, in the evening preceding the Ādhāna. The Karmānta sūtra repeats the same.² The former Brahmaudana is meant for offering the Samidhs annointed with the ghee in the Brahmaudana rice and the latter is meant as food for the priests. Other sūtras also advise the same thing.³

¹ T. Br. 1. 1. 9—ब्रह्मोदनं पचति । रेत एव तदधाति । प्राश्रन्ति ब्राह्मणा ओदनं । यदाज्यमुच्छिद्यते तेन समिधोऽभ्यज्यादधाति...तं संवत्सरं गोपायेत्...अथ आधास्यमानो ब्रह्मोदनं पचति । ... यदि संवत्सरे नादध्यात् । द्वादश्यां पुरस्तादादध्यात् । संवत्सरप्रतिमा वै द्वादशरात्रयः । संवत्सरमेवास्याहिता भवन्ति । यदि द्वादश्यां नादध्यात् । न्यहे पुरस्तादादध्यात्... ..

² Baudh. 24. 15—द्विब्रह्मोदकमु द्वेके ब्रुवत उच्छेदेषणीयो हेतुरः सामन्वकरण उत्तरः ।

³ e. g. Āpastamba 5. 7. 15: अथ आधास्यमानः पुनर्ब्रह्मोदनं पचति ।

The Brahmaudana described in 2. 13-14 is evidently the former. A statement regarding the recurrence of the same in the evening preceding the Ādhāna was necessary, but was not made in the Baudhāyana sūtra, hence a supplement to that effect was made in the Karmānta. Baudh. 2. 12-14 may thus be considered as the opening portion of the sūtra that describes the rite to be performed on the preliminary day. The Dvaidha sūtra (20. 16-18) also supports this. It begins with the discussion on the procuring of the Sambhāras, preparing the wooden utensils cooking the Brahmaudana, offering the cow, handing over the *Araṇis* to the sacrificer and so on. Thus the Dvaidha first deals with the rites to be performed on the preliminary day and next those on the day preceding the Ādhāna. It, therefore, supports the new order.

The commentators of Baudhāyana have not overlooked this discrepancy and have tried to adjust the position in their own way. On Baudh. 2. 8 Bhavasvāmi says:— ताः संवत्सरे इत्येव पक्षेव ब्रह्मौदनं संभारसंभरणं उपवसथगवि आधानमिति क्रमः । अत्र आधास्यमानो ब्रह्मौदनं पचतीत्यस्मिन् पक्षे यथाऽस्त्यग्रन्थक्रमः । On 2. 12 he says:— अग्नीनाधास्यमान इत्यारब्धव्ये इहाराभादुपवसथगव्यनित्यता ख्याप्यते । Subodhini expresses the same view. Both these commentaries mean to say that there is an option regarding the performance of the Brahmaudana. If the Brāhmaudanika fire is kindled one year or so before the Ādhāna, then the order of the rites will be Brahmaudana, Sambhārasambharana, Upavasathagavi and Ādhāna.¹ If it is kindled on the day before the Ādhāna, the order will be Brahmaudana, Sambhārasambharana and Ādhāna. Consequently they think that the Upavasathagavi is not an obligatory rite. This view, however, does not seem to be tenable in the light of T. Br. 1. 1. 9. already quoted. It is scarcely reasonable to consider the Upavasathagavi as an optional rite. Instead of thinking about the order of the sūtra, the commentators preferred to derive advantage of the disorder and tried to avoid the rite which they probably disliked and which was absent in all the other sūtras.

¹ The subodhini puts additional Brahmaudana between upavasathagavi and Ādhāna, which must be the view of Bhavasvāmi also. The omission may perhaps be an error of the scribe.

Baudh. 2. 15 begins with the handing over of the *Araṇis* by the Adhvaryu to the Yajamāna.¹ This takes place at night. Between the Upavasathagavi ended in the afternoon and handing over the *Araṇis* at night, there is the Brahmaudana to be performed in the evening. This is not described in the sūtra because it is the same as that performed on the preliminary day. A passing reference to the same is, however, a desideratum which is fulfilled by the Karmānta as already shown. The next portion (2. 16-21) explains in successive order the putting of Sambhāras after midnight, churning of the fire at dawn, laying of the five fires in the morning (the Āhavanīya at Sunrise), offering of Samidhs to the fires, prayers addressed to them and the various sacrifices. The order of this part which is similar to that in the T. Br. and the other sūtras is beyond question.

The critical examination so far made goes to show that the Ādhāna sūtra of Baudhāyana has come down in a scattered condition.² The original order of Praśna II excluding II. 5-7 which is an interpolation, may be II, 12-14, 1, 3, 4, 2, 8-11, 15-21. The general procedure of Ādhāna according to Baudhāyana seems to

¹ अथात्मा अरणी प्रयच्छन्नाह etc.

² The rearrangement suggested here is confined to the adjustment of the subsections (Khaṇḍas). But it does not mean that the subsections themselves are free from tampering. They too have sometimes suffered from insecure tradition. For example, (1) Baudh. 2.12 contains the following sūtra : अथात्मा अरणी आहरति यो अश्वत्थः क्षमीगर्भ आश्रोह त्वे सचा । तं ते इरामि ब्राह्मण बक्षियैः केतुभिः सहेति । The text here simply enumerates the materials and indicates the time for Ādhāna. So the statement of bringing the *Araṇis* for the sacrificer is inopportune. The bringing of the *Araṇis* really takes place in the morning preceding the day of Ādhāna. The bringing of the Sambhāras and *Araṇis* is described in 2.6 (which is an interpolation) and the mantra यो अश्वत्थः etc. is also given there along with the other mantras. So the above sūtra is a duplication of the statement at an improper place. (2) Baudh. 2.15 contains the following sūtra : तदाहुर्नाग्न्याधेये गां कुर्वीत घोररूपमिति । कुर्वीतैवापि त्वेव न कुर्वीतापि बह्वीरपि कुर्वीतानु येतस्य भवेत्पुण्या प्रशंसेति कात्यः । The text here speaks about handing over the *Araṇis* to the sacrificer at night preceding the Ādhāna day. The above sūtra relates to the offering of the cow to the Pitr̥s which took place already in the morning. The sūtra may belong to 2.7 (again an interpolation) and may conveniently be read after यजमानः प्रतनुत इति ब्राह्मणम् । (3) Baudh. 24.15 (Karmānta) contains a sūtra beginning with ताः संवत्सरे पुरस्तादाद्व्यादिति ।

be the following:—On the preliminary day, that is, one year before the day of Ādhāna, or 12 or 6 or 3 nights before that, the sacrificer bathes and partakes of food in company with his wife and in the evening performs the Brahmaudana rite. He maintains the Brāhmaudanika fire until the day of Ādhāna. On the day preceding the Ādhāna he pronounces his desire to lay the fires, selects his priests and the sacrificial place, formally collects the Sambhāras and formally constructs the sacrificial chamber and performs the Upavasathagavi rite. In the evening he performs the Brahmaudana and receives the *Araṇis* at night. The Adhvaryu puts the Sambhāras in the fire-places after midnight, churns the fire at dawn and lays the five fires in their respective places in the morning, the Āhavanīya fire being laid exactly at Sunrise. He then offers various Samidhs to the fires. The sacrificer then offers prayers to the fires whereupon the Adhvaryu performs the various sacrifices in connection with the *Ādhāna*.¹

(continued from the previous page)

It is the general custom of the Dvaidha and Karmānta to quote the main sūtra first, about which they mean to speak. The above sūtra is evidently of such character. But it is not found in the main sūtra. It should have been in 2,14. As already shown, a reference to the second Brahmaudana was necessary. The above sūtra indicates that some portion is lost here.

¹ A reference to the comparatively modern Prayogas of the Baudhāyana school is not helpful in all cases. For the Ādhāna at least it is not profitable. The latest Prayoga compiled by Śeṣa of Benaras confines the Ādhāna ceremony to two days only. According to him the selection of priests, preparation of fire-places and Brahmaudana etc. take place on the day preceding the Ādhāna, and the churning and laying of fires and the various sacrifices on the next.

PARVATA IN RĠVEDA

BY

B. R. SHARMA

Parvata is mostly found in the hymns ascribed to Indra and the Maruts in RV. Though the plain meaning of the term is 'hill' or 'mountain', it has been taken to mean 'cloud' as well as 'mountain'. Yāska etymologises it as 'parvavān parvataḥ parva punaḥ prṇāteḥ prṇāter vā' (Nir. I. 20. 5). "One having parvans—knots or joints. And parvan (is derived) from pr (to fill up) or prī (to satisfy)". So etymologically according to Yāska the term means that which fills up the gap, the vacant place i. e. sky, or that which satisfies people (with raining). Sāyaṇa also interprets it as 'parvavān' having joints, and takes it mostly to mean a cloud. The term is met with as an adjective of 'Giri' in I. 37. 7; V. 56. 4; viii. 64. 5. Where Sāyaṇa explains it as 'bahu-vidha-parva-yuktaḥ' (I. 37. 7), 'jagat-pūrakodaka-vān' (v. 56. 4) and also as 'parva-vān' (viii. 64. 5).

Parvata as well as Giri, Adri etc. is listed among the synonyms of 'cloud' in the Naighaṇṭuka. Sāyaṇa derives 'Giri' from (ni) girati, to pour or emit water (iv. 56. 4) and 'Adri' from 'atti' to eat (I. 71. 2; II. 165. 4). All these terms are generally taken to mean cloud, probably because Indra is described as releasing the waters breaking them up with his bolt. This is only a secondary meaning of the term based on the alternative etymology suggested by Yāska. But the word primarily means mountain or hill which is metaphorically applied to the mass of darkness and also to the dark massive cloud in Vedic literature.

It is generally the mountains of darkness (arājinaḥ parvatāḥ viii. 7. 23) which Indra breaks with his Vajra, (mass of solar rays) that has thousand joints (viii. 6. 6.). Indra's fight with the demons and Parvatas is really a fight between the powers of light and darkness. This fight takes place not in rainy season but in winter and continued to the end of the year.¹ So we

¹ AHV. pp. 252, 279.

cannot take Parvata, Adri etc. always to mean 'cloud'. Further the four simultaneous effects of Indra's conquest, such as the release of the cows and waters and the production of dawn, and sun, could not be accounted for if we interpret Parvata as a cloud. By breaking cloud only water can be released. Clouds may temporarily obscure the sun but it is not possible always to speak of the light of the sun and dawn as resulting from the breaking up of the cloud. Besides, this fight was not fought in the atmosphere but in the far off region wherein ghastly darkness reigned and which abounded in waters. So the mass of darkness that pervades heaven during the long wintry nights in Arctic region is metaphorically called Arājinah̐ Parvatāḥ or mere Parvata in RV and it is this Parvata of darkness that surrounds the earth on all sides.

Indra and Soma forge out of these mountains their shining dart (ray of light) and hurl it down on the fiend and burn the demon (viii. 104. 4). It was these mountains that had encompassed Indra, the god of light, (in the nether region) and which could not restrain him there (III. 32. 11). The firm-set fortress and mountain, which Angirases burst with lauds and roars, resulting in the finding of heaven, day, light and beams of morning (I. 71. 2) are the fortress and mountain of wintry darkness. Brightening his parents (Earth and Heaven), with the sun, Indra burst this mountain and loosed the bond that held the beams of morning (vi. 32. 2). The moving fortress of Śusna, which Indra destroys with his bolts (Vadhāiḥ) (viii. 1. 28) is the darkness which recedes at the advent of the rays of light; and the mountains which are said to be flying¹ and drawing themselves apart at the commandment of Savitr̥ (iv. 54. 5) are the moving masses of darkness. Savitr̥ is spoken of in this verse as urging the gods, of whom Indra is the chief (Indra-jyesthān) and their dwellings that are in the bottom of heaven (pastyāvataḥ), through the lofty mountains, which again means that Savitr̥ sends forth the mass of splendour through the thick darkness, and the darkness which recedes as light advances is described as the flying

¹ See Pischel, Ved. Stud. I. p. 174; Ved. Index. Vol. I. p. 502, N. 6.

mountains. Indra with his Vajra shattered into pieces this broad massive mountain and sent forth the obstructed waters (I. 57. 6).

This mountain of darkness in analogy with real mountain, is believed to have stored up the waters¹ of heavenly regions and Indra set the waters free by breaking open the mountain (V. 32. 1). This mountain of darkness is conceived of as concealing, besides waters, the cows (light) (IV. 16. 6, 8) and the sun and as obstructing the dawn-light. Indra smites the water's mountain showed by Saramā, and burst the cowstall open (IV. 16. 8, cf. X. 139. 6). Saramā leads them (cows) forth in the flood's van from the mountain's fissures where she finds them out (III. 31. 6). Indra with his rays² causes the mountains to move and raises the sun to heaven to be seen there continuously for a longer time than usual (I. 7. 3 ; cf. I. 51. 4). He gives splendour to the sun and morning, bursts the firm enclosure, and shakes from its seat the mountain which confined cows, and which never moved (acyuta) (vi. 12. 5). Breaking open the mountain barriers ('parvatasya varāmsi') and spreading forth the floods (confined therein) he finds the bright wild-ox (sun) (IV. 21. 8, cf. III. 32. 16 ; V. 55. 7.)

The tawny horse (sun) is called mountain-founded child of streams (Śīsum nadīnām harim adri-budhnam VS. 13. 42). ŚB. VIII. 5. 2. 18) and it is by breaking the mountain that the horse (sun) is brought forth from its bottom. The sun is described as mounting up through these mountains and burning everything (I. 191-9).

The demons of darkness such as Ahi, Śambara etc. are believed to dwell on this mountain, and lying extended on it, they obstruct the motion of waters. Indra, therefore, strikes them with his vajra, frees the waters pent up within the mountain range (I. 32. 2, II. 12. 11 ; 15 ; 8 ; IV. 17. 3 ; 30 ; 14 ; V. 32. 2 ; VIII. 3. 18), seizes the wealth (light, dawn etc.) concealed in the mountain, and raises the sun to heaven (I. 51. 4).

It is evident from these passages that Parvata which is connected with the demons of darkness is the mountain of

¹ 'Giri-budhnā vā apah' (SB. vii. 5. 2. 18).

² 'gobhiḥ svakiya-raśmibhiḥ' Śāyana.

darkness and not the cloud or the real mountain. These mountains are said to have become agitated at the birth of Indra, the god of light, who sets them at rest, evidently in the nether region (II. 12. 2 ; cf. II. 12. 13). The mountain which was about to pervade the earth is said to have rested, probably in the underworld, when Indra spread the earth in all her fulness (II. 11. 7).

But we find Parvata and its synonyms such as Adri, Giri, etc. used in RV. in a sense contrary to that so far referred to. In some passages, they stand for the mass of light, and these mountains are deified in many places. Thus Indra is called forth to hurl down the stone sharpened by some (lustre) (2-16) and destroy the demons who have pervaded in all sides, with the mountains (vii. 104. 19). These mountains went hurriedly in arrays like chariots, to help Indra in the fight with Vṛtra, the demon of darkness (iv. 19. 5). They are invoked to cast down the Dasyus, and the Devas sought their help in the battle with Vṛtra (viii. 63. 12).

Indra is called 'Adriṇa', possessing Adri (I. 80. 7) which Sāyana takes as identical with Vajra (I. 165. 4). Maruts also are said to cause the bright ocean to move with 'Adri' (I. 168. 6. = 'Vajra' Sāyana).

Thus it appears that the mountain mentioned in these references stands for neither the massive darkness nor the dark cloud but the mass of sun-rays which dissipates the darkness pervading the universe. Possessing this mountain Indra destroys the demons of darkness, and mountains of light come upward in array from the nether region to help him in his fight with darkness. These luminous mountains (soma-prsthāḥ), waters, wind, Parjanya and Agni are said to put down the race of demons (AV. III. 1. 5).

Parvatas are invoked in company with Varuna, Mitra, Indra, Maruts, Pūsan, Viṣṇu, Agni, Savitr and others (vi. 21. 9). Their (Parvatas') favour, benevolence etc. are also besought in conjunction with other divinities (iv. 55. 5 ; v. 41. 9 ; vii. 35. 8 ; viii. 18. 16 ; x. 35. 2 ; 36. 1. etc.). Parvata and Indra are jointly invoked in I. 112. 3 ; 132. 6 ; III. 53. 1. In these passages Parvata is associated mostly with the celestial deities. Griffith thinks

that Parvata in these passages represents the presiding Genius of mountains. But the Mountain who is invoked with the heavenly gods, appears to be a luminous being who represents mass of light that streams out in the wintry nights in the Polar region. This view is supported by a verse (iv. 34. 8) where the Rbhus, the deities of the solar rays, are invoked to be in concord with the Ādityas, the Parvatas, Savitr and the Sindhus. Here the Parvatas stand between the solar deities (Ādityas and Savitr) and the deities of solar rays stand in equal relation with them. So Parvatas who are regarded as divinities, clearly appear to have been luminous beings like the Ādityas and Savitr. But there are passages wherein Parvata clearly stands for the terrestrial mountain (III. 33. 1; V. 55. 7; 57. 3; 60. 2 etc.). In later Vedic literature Parvata means invariably this mountain and its firmness has become proverbial 'dhruvā ha parvatā ime.....parvata ivā'vicācalah' (TB. II. 4. 28).

- References:* AHV. B. G. Tilak : Arctic Home in the Vedas.
 Ved. Stud. Pischel : Vedische Studien.
 Ved. Index. Keith and Macdonell : Vedic Index.

REGIONAL DIVISIONS OF ANCIENT INDIA

BY

S. B. CHAUDHURI

Our knowledge of the Geography of Ancient India commences with the coming of the Aryans. The Indo-Aryan immigrants might have entered India by the passes of the mountain walls of the North-west and gradually moved eastward through the Punjab ; the indications in the R̥gveda are, however, not positive enough in this respect.¹ Max Müller, Weber, and Muir among others held that the Vedic hymns were composed in the Punjab, but modern view seems to regard the neighbouring regions round the Sarasvatī river (Sarasūti)² as the country where the great bulk of the R̥gveda was composed.³ On the other hand a number of geographical data found in the R̥gveda, largely consisting of references to river names, prove beyond doubt that the Vedic Indians collectively called Aryans, had already spread over the country running south-east from Afghanistan to the Jumna.

The abbreviations used are the following :—

ABRI— Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

AI— Alberuni's India, ed. by Sachau.

AMKLP— Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūla Kalpa, ed. by Ganapati Sastri.

AR— Archaeological Survey.

AS— Artha Śāstra.

CAGI— Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India.

CH— Cambridge History of India.

CJ— The Jātaka, ed. by Cowell.

OL— Carmichael Lectures.

DUHB— Dacca University History of Bengal.

FIB— Foucher, Buddhist Iconography.

HAIB— B. C. Sen, Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal.

IG— The Imperial Gazetteer of India.

JDL— Journal of the Dept. of Letters.

KSSR— The Kathā Sarit-Sāgara, Tawney.

VKS— Kāmasūtram Bangabāsi Press, Calcutta.

¹ OH, I. 79.

² AI. II. 142.

³ Ved. Ind. I. 468. See Hopkins, Journal of the American Oriental Society, XLX, pp. 19-28.

The settlement of the Aryans in the Lower Kabul Valley and the country watered by the western tributaries of the Indus¹ is indicated by the mention of the rivers Kubhā (Kabul),² Svāstu (Swat),³ Mehatnu (a tributary of the Sindhu),⁴ Krumu (Kurram)⁵ and Gomati (Gumal)⁶ and tribes like Pakthas (Pakhthūn)⁷ and the Gandhāris (Gandhāras)⁸. The river Sindhu as the most copious and sacred of streams is also mentioned.⁹

The celebrated River hymn of the R̥gveda points to a geographical area which embraced the Punjab and the country extending south-eastwards to the Ganges. The Prayer, set forth in due order from east to west runs thus.¹⁰ 'Imam me Gāṅgē'¹¹

¹ Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, 1913, p. 140.

² RV. v. 53.9; x. 75. 6.

³ RV. viii. 19. 37.

⁴ RV. x. 75. 6.

⁵ RV. v. 53.9.

⁶ RV. x. 75.6; Ved. Ind., I, 238. For the view that it was the Gomati of the modern United Provinces, see Cal. Review, 1924, Oct. pp. 74 and 76. The theory is refuted by K. Chattopadhyaya in JDL, 1927, Vol. XV—"Identification of the R̥gvedic River Sarasvatī and some connected problems", pp. 43ff.

⁷ RV. vii. 18. 7.

⁸ RV. i. 126. 7.

⁹ cf. RV. x. 75: Mahān hi asya mahimā panasyate-(a) dābhasya svayaśaso etc. (9 c and d). According to the authors of the Vedic Index (Ved. Ind. II. 450) the references to the name in the R̥gveda fall into two groups, one carrying merely the sense of stream as in 'Saptasindhavaḥ' and another denoting the famous Indus. K. Chattopadhyaya says (op. cit. pp. 25-32) that only half a dozen passages can be cited as referring to the Indus by the name of Sindhu (only one complete hymn) whereas to Sarasvatī is devoted three entire hymns all belonging to an earlier stage.

¹⁰ RV. x. 75. 5.

¹¹ The river is alluded to in the territorial title of a prince (RV. vi. 45.31; Ved. Ind. I. 217. cf. also Jahnāvi in i. 116.19; iii. 58.6). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xiii. 5.4. 11-14) also mentions the river along with the Jumna in connection with the victories of Bharata Dauhṣanti which probably marked the eastern-most extent of the Bharata or Kuru rule. The Bharatas the heroes of the third and the seventh books of the R̥gveda who are expressly recorded in one hymn (RV. iii. 23.4) to have dwelt on the Sarasvatī-Āpayā, and Dṛṣadvatī, evidently shared the country with the Pūrus, for the hymn vii. 96. 2 represents the Pūrus as living on the banks of the Sarasvatī. It was the Bharata king Sudās of the Tṛtsu family who was victorious in the Dāśarājña battle and vanquished his rival the Pūrus among others. The passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa referred to above, commemorates the achievements of another Bharata King who conquered the Gāṅgā-Jumnā
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Yamune¹ Sarasvatī²

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valley, which in the period of the Brāhmaṇa belonged to the Kurus, possibly a fresh stream of immigrants with whom Bharatas along with the Pūrus amalgamated. In the Epic, the royal race of the Kurus is represented to have belonged to the Bharatas and in the genealogical system of the Purāṇas the Kurus again are treated as septs of the Pūrus. All these were so many elements of the Kuru-Pañcāla nation of the later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

¹ This is obviously the famous Jumna which marks the eastern boundary of the Punjab, but other notices to the name (RV. v.52. 17; vii. 18,19) according to Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya (op. cit. pp. 45-48) indicate that it was the Asikni, or the Chenāb. But the hymn (RV. vii. 18,19) which refers to the victory gained by the Bharata king Sudās, of the Tṛtsu family on the Jumna point to locate the Tṛtsu-Bharatas near a river which is twice mentioned in Brāhmaṇa texts (Ait. Brā., viii. 23 and Śat. Brā., op. cit.) in connection with the conquest of Bharata Dauḡanti a Bharata chief. This shows that the Jumna of the R̥gveda, as in the time of the Brāhmaṇas meant the eastern river of that name and that the position of the settlement of the Tṛtsu-Bharatas who later on coalesced with the Kurus remained unchanged.

² The position in the list leaves no doubt that this is the modern Sarsūti of Karnal which flows between the Jumna and the Sutlej. The Vedic hymns indicate that it was a mighty river of importance and flowed from the hills to the sea (RV. vii. 95.2). This agrees with the position of the Sarsūti which rises from the Siwalik Hills. The sacred river Sarasvatī rising in the hills of Sirmur, traverses the northern portion of the Karnal District and flows past the Thanesar town and also Pehowa, (Kaithal tahsil) which is situated in 29°. 59,' N. and 76° 35' E.' Pehowa is a corruption of the Sanskrit Prthūdakā, the "Pool of Prthu". This occurs in the Pehowa Prasāsti of Mahendra Pāla (c. 890-93 A. D.) which refers to Prthūdakā as being situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī (EI. I. 242 ff.) Pehowa now stands 16 miles west of Thanesar (IG. XX. 100) and appears to be quite as old as the latter (AR. XIV. 102). Near about Pehowa the river Sarsūti receives a tributary called Mārkaṇḍa. The united stream under the name of Sarsūti then flows through the Kaithal tahsil of the Karnal District and ultimately joins the Ghaggar. The Ghaggar which is believed to have been the ancient Sarasvatī (JRAS. 1893. p. 51) was thus the lower course of the river (Punjab Gazetteer, Ambala District, ch. I). The Ghaggar (Sarasvatī) flows past Sirsa the town of the subdivision of the same name in the Hissar District of the Punjab where it earned the name Vinaśana. The region where the river Sarasvatī disappeared is generally thought to be modern Patiala of the Punjab (SBE. XIV 2, fn.) but it has to be located a little to the south-west in Sirsa as other traditions point to that spot as Vinaśana. The river is then lost in the desert at Bhatnair, but a dry river bed Hakra or Ghaggar exists from that point to the Indus (See B. O. Law, JDL., 1935, XXVIII, pp. 4-5).

At one time the Sarasvatī might have reached the sea by joining the Indus somewhere below Sukkur as the dry beds of Ghaggar and Hakra indicate

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(see maps of CH, I. Nos. 2, 3 and 4; Map. 'Indian Empire' Printed in Great Britain, by George Philip & Sons Ltd., London. The London Geographical Institute: Holditch, Gates of India, pp. 27, 144; Oldham, JRAS. XXV, pp. 49-76). So in the period of the *R̥gveda* it was a flowing river (Maxmüller, *R̥gveda-Samhitā*, p. 46) and was considered as highly sacred : 'devitame' (RV. ii. 41. 16). A passage of the *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 146. 17) seems to refer to this : "Eṣā sarasvatī puṇyā nadīnāmuttamā nadī | Prathamā sarvasarītām nadī sāgaragāminī ||".

But there is a great controversy over the identity of the *R̥gvedic Sarasvatī*. Almost all the German Vedic scholars agree with Roth in identifying the river with the Indus, but the authors of the *Vedic Index* and Lassen do not accept this theory and identify the river with the *Sarsūti* discussed above (CH, I. 80; *Ved. Ind.*; II. pp. 435-37; Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 142). Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya (op. cit. pp. 5-42) discusses the question at great length and observes that in earlier portions of the *R̥gveda*, *Sarasvatī* was the name of Indus but in the Tenth Maṇḍala it meant the *Sarsūti* in Kurukṣetra.

It may, however, be noticed that in the hymn addressed to *Sarasvatī* (RV. vi. 61) she is styled as 'Saptasvasā', i. e., seven sistered (verse 10), which may be regarded as referring to the seven streams corresponding in a territorial sense to the *Sapta Sindhavaḥ* of the *R̥gveda* (viii. 24-27) and *Hapta Hendu* i. e., the Punjab of Avestan records, all meaning the Land of the Seven rivers (for different views see *Ved. Ind.* I. pp. 436-7; H. B. Hannah JDL. 1921, IV, p. 15; *Ibid.* XV, p. 40).

Similarly in *R̥gveda* vii. 36. 6b *Sarasvatī* is called the 'seventh' and in viii. 54. 4 the river is alluded to as one of the seven rivers. In a geographical sense this seventh river *Sarasvatī* fits in the River system of the Punjab only as the name of the *Sarsūti* the other six being, in the due order from the east to west, Sutlej, Beas (*Vipāś* RV. iii. 33), Rāvi, Chenab, Jhelum and the Indus (for different views see K. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit. p. 12, 23, 33 fn. 2, 41-2). In x. 64. 9 the *Sarasvatī* is even invoked separately grouped with *Sindhu*.

That *Sarasvatī* was the seventh river (and as such represented *Sarsūti* in the period of the *R̥gveda*) seems to be indirectly implied in the *Sūtra*—'Sindhuṣaṣṭhānām ca' of the *Kāmasūtra* (3rd Century) of Vātsyāyana (VKS p. 371), which according to the author of the *Jayamaṅgalā Commentary* meant the Indus and its five well-known tributaries. This *Sūtra* when contrasted with the epithet *Saptathī Sindhumātā* (i. e., seventh of *Sindhu*, the mother of all) given to the river *Sarasvatī* in the *R̥gveda* (vii. 36. 6b) clearly shows that the Vedic river *Sarasvatī* was not included in the River system of a later age. This is perfectly in accord with the tradition preserved in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts that the river *Sarasvatī* lost itself in the sands of desert and earned the name *Vinaśana* (*Pañcaviṃśa Brāh.*, xxv. 10.6; *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brāh.*, iv. 26). The *Mahābhārata* clearly states that the river entered the earth—"Yatra Merupṛṣṭhe *Sarasvatī*". This *Sarasvatī* is the same as the *Sarsūti* of the Karnal District as said above. It thus appears that the river *Sarasvatī*, the 'seventh' river of the *R̥gveda* is to be connected with *Vinaśana* (*Hissar Dist.*), the place where according to the *Brāhmaṇa* texts the *Sarasvatī* (*Sarsūti*) disappeared, and consequently the number of the Punjab rivers was limited to six in the time of Vātsyāyana. *Pañcanada*, the later name of the Punjab, i. e., 'land of the five streams' is found only in the epic period,

Śutudri¹ stomamśacatā Paruṣṇyā² Asiknyā³ Marudvṛdhe⁴ Vitasta-⁵ yārjikiye⁶ śṛṇubhā Suṣomayā⁷ This 'Nadistuti' necessarily given in the local geographical setting when contrasted with the Epic prayer similar in nature (Gāṅge ca Yamune caiva Godāvarī Sarasvatī, Narmadā Sindhu Kāverī Jalesmin sannidhiṁ Kuru) brings out the difference in the geographical horizon of the respective ages.⁸

But the mention of the Uśīnaras⁹

¹ This is the modern Sutlej and is also mentioned in RV. iii. 33. 1.

² This is the modern Rāvi. For other views see Ved. Ind. I. 499-500.

³ This is the Chinab.

⁴ This is identified with a small stream which joins the Chenab. See also Ved. Ind. II. 155.

⁵ Identified with Jhelum.

⁶ This is probably the Kansi. For other views see Ved. Ind., I. 62-63.

⁷ This is identified with Sohān (Ved. Ind. II. 460-61).

⁸ In the Bārhaspatya Arthasāstra (ed. by F. W. Thomas, Punjab Sanskrit series, No. one, 1921) a work which is not anterior to the sixth century A. D. the great rivers mentioned cover the whole of India. They are — Gāṅgā, Sarasvatī, Kālindī, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparṇī, Ghṛtamālā (p. 20, Sūtra, No. 82).

⁹ The mention of a queen named Uśīnarāṇī in the R̥gveda (x. 59. 10) alludes to the people indirectly. The theory of Zimmer that the Uśīnaras in the earlier period lived to the north-west (Ved. Ind. I. 103) is based on the reference to Sibi-Auśīnara to whom a hymn is ascribed in the Anukramaṇī, and as the Śibis according to the testimony of the Greek writers lived near the Indus the Uśīnaras according to him are indicated to be similarly located. Early tradition, however, indicates that the Śivis were a branch of the Uśīnaras and lived in the Uśīnara country near the Siwalik Hills.

In the aphorisms of Pāṇini (5th Century B. C.) the inclusion of Uśīnara Janapada in the Vāhikā country is implied (IV.2.117 & 118). The Usīra-giri of the Divyāvadāna (Cowell and Neil, p. 22) and Usīradhvaja of the Vinaya Texts (SBE, XVII, 38) evidently refer to the Uśīnara country and its hills. Mt. Uśīnara is mentioned in the Kathā-S-Sāgara and is placed near Hardwar where the Ganges issues from the hills (KSSR, I, p. 11). The Uśīnaras, therefore, seem to have lived near about the Dehra-Dun district in the hilly region where the Ganges takes its rise. The geographical indications of a passage of the Gopātha Brāhmaṇa (ii. 9) where the Udīeyas or the Northerners are mentioned just after the Uśīnaras (... sa Vaśa-Uśīnareṣ-udīeye ṣu) are in agreement with the position of the Uśīnaras as indicated above. The mention of the people in the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad (iv. I) obviously refers to the same country. A geographical passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 14) which ascribes to the Middle region, the Kurus, Pañcālas, Vaśas and Uśīnaras also makes the Uśīnaras the northern-most people of Madhya-deśa in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and is thus consistent enough with other conditions. So the people appearing in the Tenth Maṇḍale of the R̥gveda may have occupied the same region in which we find them in the Brāhmaṇa period.

Matsyas,¹ Cedis² and Ikṣvākus³ and other such Aryan tribes in the Rgveda, however, indicate that by the close of the Rgvedic period the Aryans had already reached the country lying to the east of the Ganges and south of the Jumna.⁴ This advance is also reflected in the later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, and so in the Brāhmaṇa period, the centre of the civilization was tending to be localised in upper and middle Gangetic Doab. The result is that the Punjab which had in all probability been the home of the vedic tribes recedes to the background and the eastern region comes into prominence. Instead of Sapta Sindhava, the Smṛti texts extol the sanctity of Brahmāvarta or Kurukṣetra and Brahmarsideṣa, the centre from which Indo-Aryan culture spread.

Thus according to the Mānava Dharmasāstra, a work whose composition is placed between the second century B. C. and the second century A. D. and which is derived from an ancient work on law as Prof. Bühler has shown⁵, the original home, the ideal and the most sacred country of the Aryans, is singled out as Brahmāvarta, the holy land lying between the two divine rivers the Sarasvatī and the Dṛśadvatī.⁶ In the Mahābhārata⁷ the same spot bounded by the Sarasvatī on the north

¹ RV. vii. 18. 8.

² RV. viii. 5. 37-39.

³ The reference is to a prince (RV. x. 60. 4) called Ikṣvāku. In the epic the name recurs as the founder of the Solar race (Macdonell. op. cit. p. 157) of Ayodhyā. Genealogical accounts of the Purāṇas make the Pūru king Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu of the Rgveda appear as the Solar kings of Kośala. This seems to be conflicting unless it is assumed that the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Pūrus (CH. I. p. 308), but the chain of evidence connecting the Purāṇic genealogies with the genealogical tradition of the Rgveda is missing.

⁴ The river Sarayu of the Rgveda x. 64. 9. mentioned with Sarasvatī and Sindhu may have been the modern Sarjū of Oudh (Sarayu of Post-vedic literature) as Zimmer suggests (Ved. Ind. I. 541), but this cannot be the river meant in all the vedic hymns for in v. 53. 9., it is grouped with Kubhā (See K. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit. p. 48).

⁵ SBE. XXV. Intro. pp. CV, CXV-CXVII; pp. xi-xiv.

⁶ Manu, ii. 17-20; SBE. XXV. 33; Bühler, Laws of Manu, pp. 82-83. According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (iii. 22. 24) Barhiṣmatī was a city Brahmāvarta.

⁷ iii. 83. 204-206.

and Dr̥ṣadvatī on the south is called both Kurukṣetra¹ and Brahmavedī. Kurukṣetra thus lay in the plain between the Sutlej and the Jumna and strictly speaking corresponded to a portion of the Karnal District², the Sarsūti (Sarasvatī) forming its northern boundary as far as its confluence with the Ghaggar on the west and its southern frontier marching probably with the Chautang or 'Rakṣi'³. A very ancient territorial division of India, Kurukṣetra or Brahmāvarta (Brahmavedī) is treated with special veneration in all ancient texts. The home of the Bharatas and later of the Kurus, it was the eastern limit of the horizon of the early Aryan invaders. This cultural limit generally speaking was the dividing line between the geography of the R̥gveda and the geography of the later Vedic literature, for in the Brāhmaṇas the centre of religious activity seems to have been transferred to the adjacent country lying south-east. And Manu says: "The plain of the Kurus, the Matsyas, Pāñcālas and Śūrasenakas, these (form) indeed, the country of the Brahmar̥sis (which ranks) immediately after Brahmāvarta"⁴. It was in this land of the Holy Sages (Brahmar̥sideśa) that the

¹ Kurukṣetra or the land of the Kurus was known as a sacred spot even in the time of the Brāhmaṇas as the different notices made of it in the several Brāhmaṇa texts show (Śat. Brāh., iv. 1. 5. 13, xi. 6. 1. 4; Ait. Brāh., VII. 30; Pañcaviṃśa Brāh., xxv. 20). It is not mentioned in the R̥gveda but its rivers, i. e., the Dr̥ṣadvatī, the Sarasvatī and the Āpayā occur in a hymn in connection with Bharata chiefs who are spoken of having kindled fire there. In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (v. 1. 1.) we get a different account of the boundaries of Kurukṣetra. They are the Khāṇḍava on the south, the Tūrghna on the north and the Parīṇah on the west.

² In a geographical sense Kurukṣetra cannot include the district of Sirhind as the entire strip of territory known as Patiala separates Sarsūti (Sarasvatī) from Sirhind on the north.

³ The Dr̥ṣadvatī is identified with the modern Chautang which flows to the east of Thanesar (JRAS. 1893, p. 58). Cunningham identified it with the river Rakhi which flows by the SE. of Thanesar (AR. XIV. 87-90). The Karnal District is bounded on the north by the Patiala State and Ambala District; on the east by the Jumna; on the south by the Punjab districts of Delhi and Rohtak and on the west by the states of Patiala and Jhind. The torrents which traverse the district are the Sarasvatī, Umla, the Mārkaṇḍa, the Chautang and a minor stream the Rakshi (IG. XV. 49). The four tahsils are Karnal, Panipat, Kaithal and Thanesar. The latter two can be equated with the celebrated land Brahmāvarta.

⁴ SBE. XXV. 32.

Brāhmanic religious and social system was evolved. The extension of the Aryan influence from Brahmāvarta to Brahmarṣi-deśa as recorded in Manu is thus indicative of the changes in the geographical outlook of a later age. As physical features connect the plain of the Indus with the plain of the Ganges this expansion eastward appears as a very natural development ¹.

But a wider geographical outlook is already* noticed in the Atharvaveda. The distant Himalayan range fitly called Himavant ² and the reference to such border tribes as the Aṅgas and Magadhas ³ of the far east, as well as to some other tribes who at a later period were found in the Malwa region ⁴ point to marked widening of the Aryan horizon. Under these conditions the Vedic authors in the later Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa period may have been conscious of the necessity of a plan of geographical division of India based on directions. This explains the idea of dividing India into five Diks, i. e., quarters or divisions, a glimpse of which we get for the first time in the Atharva-Saṁhitā ⁵. The plan of dividing the country into five regions on the basis of a Central zone and the four adjoining quarters i. e., the Diks or directions was essentially geographical in character and was fairly well known, as frequent references to the idea in several other Vedic texts ⁶ show. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa throws further light on the divisions contemplated under this scheme. In the well-known passage of the Brāhmaṇa ⁷ we find

¹ OH, I. p. 22f.

² Himavant is mentioned even in the R̥gveda (x. 121. 4) but its reference in the Atharvaveda (xii. 1. 11) and in the Saṁhitā texts (Taittiriya Saṁ.; v. 5. 11. 1; Vājasā-Saṁ., xxiv. 30) has a more direct bearing on the snowy mountains and point though vaguely to the mountains called Himalaya and perhaps also to some of its north-westerly spurs. But the reference to the name in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (viii. 14. 3: pareṇa Himavantaṁ) clearly stands for the Himalayan mountain system.

³ Atharvaveda, v. 22. 14.

⁴ Cf. the Kuntis, who are referred to in a passage of the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (xxvi. 9). Pāṇini groups Avanti with Kunti in the Sūtra IV. 1. 176 Kunti was an ancient town of Mālava.

⁵ xix. 17. 1-9. The word 'Dīś' denoting a quarter of the sky is also mentioned in the R̥gveda and the four quarters - east, south, west, north are likewise referred to (Ved. Ind. I. 365).

⁶ ABRI, VII. 129 and fn. 1.

⁷ viii. 14.

Diśi mentioned in place of Dik with reference to which India is shown to have been divided into five Diśis, i. e., the Deśas (Divisions) of later times, which were as follows :—

1. Etasyām Dhruvāyām Madhyamāyām Pratiṣṭhāyām diśi ye ke ca Kuru-Pañcālānām Rājānaḥ sa Vās-Ośīnarānām
2. Etasyām Udīcyām-diśi ye ke ca pareṇa Himavantām Janapadā Uttara-Kurava Uttara-Madrā iti Vairājiyā-yaiva te ...
3. Etasyām Pratiṣṭhāyām diśi ...
4. Etasyām Prācyām diśi ye ke ca Prācyānām rājānaḥ ...
5. Etasyām Dakṣiṇāyām diśi ye ke ca Satvatām Rājāno ...

The above outline gives us more detailed information of the five-fold divisions of India, and supplies the source of the five great Divisions of the Post-Brāhmaṇa period. The traditional division of India into five regions or parts is noticed throughout in Indian literature, but all the notices that we possess of these divisions are not complete in information about the geographical application of these regional units. In some texts such terms as Prācya and Udīcya are vaguely and carelessly mentioned which leave the impression that the conception was imperfectly realised and that there was no competent standard authority for the enforcement of a correct geographical meaning for each of these divisions. Yet, it is clear that the idea of these divisions was working out to a precise meaning according as geographical knowledge increased and this is recorded in the various strata of later literature, Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist. It is to be noted, however, that the process was rather long and not until we come to the time of Rājasekhara (10th century) do we get anything like an authoritative opinion in the matter of the boundaries of each of these five divisions and their relative position with regard to one another.

The Dhruvā Madhyamā Pratiṣṭhā diś or the 'Middle fixed region' inhabited by the Kurus, Pañcālas, Vatsas and Uśīnaras was thus confined to the Gangetic Doab bounded on the north by the Sewalik range or the hills of Hardwar, the seat of the Uśi-

naras.¹ But the boundaries of Madhyadeśa were considerably enlarged at a later time, for the *Manu-smṛti* whose composition is placed between the second century B. C. and the second century A. D.² records that the (Country) which (lies) between the Hīmavat and the Vindhya (Mountain), to the west of Prayāga and to the east of Vinasāna (the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears) is called Madhya-deśa (the central region)³. It is clear that the Madhyama Diś of the Brāhmaṇa period expanded into a wider region extending from the northern confines of the Hissar District of the Punjab (Vinasāna)⁴ right up to Allahabad, the corresponding portions of the Himālayas and the Vindhyas forming the northern and southern boundary⁵ respectively. The Madhya-deśa of the Great Epic⁶ is perhaps the same as the Madhya-deśa of Manu and may be considered to have been of the same extent, as composition of the work going under the name of Manu (2nd B. C. — 2nd A. D.) is supposed to have been synchronous with the compilation of *Mahābhārata* (c. 4th B. C. — 4th A. D.). Besides, the work going under the name of Manu was considered to be the standard work in the field on various subjects and was too readily consulted by other writers for a proper interpretation of Brāhmaṇical traditions. Thus Vātsyāyana writing probably in the 3rd century A. D. employs the general name Madhya-deśa as a country mostly inhabited by the Āryas: Madhya-deśyā Ārya-prāyaḥ. Yaśodhara in his Commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* refers to the definition of Madhya-deśa as given by Manu⁷.

But Buddhist view of Majjhima-Deśa (Madhya-deśa) which is frequently referred to in the *Jātakas*⁸ and in other texts⁹ is not in accord with the Brāhmaṇical view of the extent of the division. From the *Vinaya Piṭaka*¹⁰ we learn that the eastern boundary of

¹ See supra p. 127, fn. 9.

² SBE. XXV. Intro. pp. CV, CXV-CXVII.

³ ii. 21; SBE. XXV. 33; OL, p. 42.

⁴ See Supra p. 125 fn. 2.

⁵ Aśvaghoṣa writing in the first or second century A. D. places Madhya-deśa between the Hīmavat and Pāripātra (Saundarananda kāvyā, ii, 62).

⁶ xii. 168-30, Sorenson Index, p. 450.

⁷ VKS. p. 370.

⁸ OL, p. 44.

⁹ *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil, pp. 62-63): Madhyadeśam āgatya Gaṅgāyā dakṣiṇe kule, vasthitāḥ.

¹⁰ SBE. XVII. 38.

Madhya-deśa was Kajaṅgala and the western boundary was the village Thūna. Kajaṅgala according to Rhys Davids was situated 70 miles to the east of modern Bhagalpur¹. It is equated with Ka-chu-Wen-K'i-lo of Hiuen Tsang which at that time corresponded to the area round Rājmaḥāl². Thūna was the Prākṛitised form of Sthānu-Tīrtha i. e., Thaneshvar which, as we have already noticed, was situated on the river Sarsūti or Sarasvatī (25 miles south of Ambala). Usiradhvaja which formed the northern boundary refers to the Uśnara Peak, i. e., the Sewalik Range.³ On the southern frontier of the Majjhima-deśa lay the town of "Setakapṇika." The name bears connection with Śāta-vāhana-Śātakarṇis and perhaps owed its origin to the wide conquest of Śātakarṇi, the son of Simuka, who first raised the Śātavāhana power to the position of paramount sovereignty over trans-Vindhyan India, the capital of which was Pratiṣṭhāna, "the modern Paithan on the north bank of the Godāvarī, in the Aurangabad District of Hyderabad". As Śātakarṇi is credited with the performance of the Āsvamedha sacrifice,⁴ it may be conjectured that Setakapṇika may have been given as an alternative name in that connection to the capital city Pratiṣṭhāna. This may indicate that according to the Vinaya texts the river Godāvarī formed the southern frontier of Madhya-deśa, and this is in agreement with the evidence of the Sutta Nipāta that Assaka was in Dakṣiṇāpatha. We see, therefore, that taking the northern point on the Himālayas, the western point on the bank of the river Sarsūti, the geographical limits of Madhya-deśa as outlined in the Vinaya Piṭaka agrees with that of Manu. But whereas Manu stopped at the Vindhyas the Buddhist tradition extended the limit further to the south as far as the Godāvarī. The Buddhist text also records

¹ JRAS. 1904. pp. 87-88. For the variants of the name Kajaṅgala, see HAIB, p. 19. fn. 1.

² YC. II, pp. 182-83. The name survives in modern Kayaṅgala or Kāṅkjal near Rājmaḥāl (JASB. 1873, p. 218; HAIB., p. 19). K. N. Dikshit suggests that Kaṅkagrāma which appears as the name of a Bhukti in the Śaktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇasena (EI. XXI. 214) is probably represented by the modern Kāṅkjal. According to Cunningham Rājmaḥāl was anciently called Kāṅkjal (CAGI, p. 548) and so its geographical position makes it highly probable that the place should be looked upon as a natural dividing line between two regions by ancient writers.

³ See supra p. 127, fn. 9.

⁴ PH. p. 346.

an extension of the eastern limit of Madhya-deśa as far as the confines of modern Bengal. In a Jātaka story we read of Videha being situated in Madhya-deśa.¹ The area of Madhya-deśa thus appears to be much bigger than the area estimated by Manu who did not include even Kāśī in Madhya-deśa, and so the definition given in the Buddhist scriptures does not appear to be geographically accurate². Cultural notions and standards³ may have influenced geographical notions; for the limits of the Majjhima country were probably determined by the limits of Buddhist culture. In the list of "Solasa Mahājanapada" supplied by the Buddhist Aṅguttara Nikāya, Aṅga and Magadha figure as the eastern-most countries known to the Buddhist writers. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that in the 6th century B. C. when Buddha and Mahāvīra lived and preached, Aṅga and Magadha were proselytised to Buddhism just as Puṇḍra and Suhma were the centres of the religious activity of the Jainas⁴. All these factors may have led to the inclusion of Aṅga Magadha in the celebrated land called Madhya-deśa which consequently involved considerable modification of the Brāhmanical view of Madhya-deśa *inasmuch as* the area hallowed by the memory of Lord Buddha was excluded from the Central Region by Manu.

Madhya-deśa is frequently mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī⁵ and in the Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara⁶. In a later Buddhist work the Ārya-mañjuśrīmūlakalpa the division is copiously referred to⁷. The boundaries of Madhya-deśa given by Rājasekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṃsā are those which are set forth in the Mānu-smṛiti:—

¹ No. 406, CJ, III, p. 222.

² When Yaśodhara in his Commentary on the Kāmasūtra explains that the Prācya country lay to the east of Aṅga (VKS, p. 410), he obviously suggests that Madhya-deśa extended as far as Aṅga. But such a wide extent of Madhya-deśa is not suggested by any other ancient writer. Dr. B. C. Sen thinks that Puṇḍravardhana of North Bengal, was the standard eastern boundary of Madhya-deśa according to Buddhist tradition as the region beyond that city is termed 'Pratyanta' in the Divyāvadāna HAIB, p. 19 f). But 'Pratyanta' is used in contra-distinction to Āryāvarta and not with reference to Madhya-deśa. Besides another Buddhist text includes even Kośala in the eastern division (see *infra*, p. 128).

³ ABRI, XII. 105-7.

⁴ VI. 300, RT, I, p. 260.

⁵ KSSR, I, p. 286 and 507.

⁶ AMKLP, p. 89, 207, 231.

Himavadvindhayayormadhyam yatprāgvinaśanādapi
Pratyageva prayāgācca Madhyadeśaḥ prakīrttitaḥ ¹

The Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi of Hemacandra refers to the same limits of the Central Division ². It thus follows that the Madhyadeśa comprised within its limits the old territorial units described as Brahmāvarṭta (Brāhmavedī, Kurukṣetra) and Brahmarṣi-deśa. The region described as 'Kāliṇḍī-Narmmadayōrmmadhyam' in the Eraṇ Stone Pillar inscription of Budhagupta was evidently another portion of Madhyadeśa. ³

Madhyadeśa is mentioned in several Grants generally in connection with the country from which the donees emigrated. Thus we have reference to Śrīngapura ⁴, Madhuna ⁵, Soṇabhadra ⁶ and Takkārikābhaṭṭa-grāma of Gaṇḍaki-deśa ⁷ as being 'Madhyadeśam-tahpāti'. It appears that excepting the last name all these places were situated within the traditional limits of Madhyadeśa. It is, however, to be noted that in some epigraphs Madhyadeśa has been given a geographical position totally different from the usual one, denoting the region lying between the two rivers Gōdāvarī and Kṛṣṇā, "which by its natural condition bear a certain resemblance to the country between the Ganges and the Yamunā ⁸".

The position of the Central Region having been determined we may now turn to the Northern Division. In the passage of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa quoted above the Udici-diś is described as "pareṇa Himavantam" and the people mentioned specifically are the Uttara-Kurus and the Uttara-Madras, the former, as Zimmer says, living in Kasmir ⁹. The region beyond the Himālayas to its north is perhaps meant by the term Udīcya. In a passage of the

¹ Kāvyā, p. 94.

² Abhidhāna, p. 379, v. 17.

³ CII. III. 89 line 3.

⁴ EI. xx, 106, line 11. It may be the same as śrīngavarapura identified with Singror on the river Ganges near Allahabad (HAIB., p. 15).

⁵ EI. XXII. 136. This is perhaps the famous city of Mathurā. In the Buddhist chronicle Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakaḥ we have the form Madhurā for Mathurā (AMKLP, p. 88, v. 10).

⁶ EI. XXII. 161. This may have been a place near the hill where the river Son takes its rise (Ibid. 164 fn.).

⁷ EI. VII. 96. It may have been somewhere in the Gandak valley of N. Bihar.

El. XIX. 155-56,

⁹ Ved. Ind. I. 84,

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa¹, the Udīcyas or the Northerners are similarly located: Kuru-Pañcāleṣu-Aṅga-Magadheṣu Kāśī-Kausalyeṣu Śālva-Matsyeṣu sa Vāśa-Uśīnareṣ Ūdīcyeṣu. The Uśīnaras appear here as a people living near the Udīcyas. Similarly in the passage of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted above, the Uśīnaras seem to have been represented as the northern-most people of Madhya-deśa². The position of the Uśīnaras makes it clear that the writers of the Brāhmaṇa texts regarded the Himavat range and particularly the Uśīnara Hills as the boundary between the Udīci-dīś and the Madhyama-dīś. It appears that in the period of the Brāhmaṇas the north-western portion of India was also known as Udīcyā. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa refers to one Uddālaka Āruṇi who used to go about roaming amongst the northerners: Udīcyānvr̥to dhāvayām cakāra³. The same man (Uddālaka Āruṇi) is found describing the merit of the Gandhāra country as a true centre of learning in a passage of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad⁴. In the Uddālaka Jātaka⁵ we read of Uddālaka as going to Takṣaśilā for acquiring learning. All these bits of information when pieced together go to show that Gandhāra was a country of the Udīci-dīś in the period of the Brāhmaṇas. The northern (Udīcyā) country where the people are represented as going for purposes of study in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa⁶ can only refer to Takṣaśilā, as no other centre of learning of such fame and antiquity was known to have existed⁷.

Mention is made of Uttarāpatha in a Sūtra (V. 1, 77) of Pāṇini which is perhaps the earliest literary reference to the name. It may be with reference to Dakṣiṇāpatha that such a name came into use although it was not so consistently in use as its southern counterpart. It is difficult to find out what Pāṇini meant by the expression, but a clue to the ancient application of the name is perhaps contained in the rule Pāṇ. IV. 2. 117 which distinctly refers to the villages of Vāhika. Under the rule Pāṇ. I. 1. 75, Patañjali has Sepura which is explained as the name of a Vāhika village. Other villages of Vāhika mentioned by Patañjali are Ārāt, Kāśīrā, Sakala, Pātānaprastha = (Pāthānkot)

¹ ii. 9.² See supra p. 127, fn. 9,³ xi. 4. 1. 1. See also Ved. Ind. I. 87-8.⁴ vi. 14.⁵ No. 487, CJ, iv, p. 188, cf. No. 377, CJ, III, p. 154.⁶ vii. 6,⁷ Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 8, 28 and 303.

Nandipura' etc. Some of these places have been identified by V. S. Agrawala with some towns of the Punjab particularly in the area round the Salt Range. The writer further observes that the Vāhika grāmas of Ārāt and Nandana were important places "commanding the gateway through the Salt Range on the route from Takṣaśilā to Vitastā."² It is not improbable that the earliest application of the name Uttarāpatha referred to this path leading to the north, i. e., Takṣaśilā and the adjacent regions. Dr. H. C. Roy Chaudhury says that in the Maurya period, at least in the time of Aśoka, Uttarāpatha with its capital Taxila was one of the administrative provinces.³ It may be noted that the same region has been designated as Uditya in the Brāhmaṇa Texts.

The mention of the name in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela (Utarāpadha-rājāno) does not help us⁴ much in ascertaining the geographical position of Uttarāpatha, but the Jātakas contain important notices bearing on its position. The testimony of several Jātaka stories makes it clear that Takṣaśilā was in Uttarāpatha.⁵ This is also stated in the Divyāvadāna.⁶ The Taṇḍulanāli Jātaka⁷ again represents certain horse-dealers called Saindhava as having gone to Bārāṇasī from Uttarāpatha. The name Saindhava which is derived from the river Sindhu or the Indus suggests that the Indus valley was in Uttarāpatha. All these notices indicate that Uttarāpatha lay on the north and west of Madhya-deśa⁸ and embraced territories on both sides of the river Indus.

Uttarāpatha as the name of a division occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata.⁹ In one śloka we have reference to some tribes of Uttarāpatha :

Uttarāpatha-jaṇmānaḥ Kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api

Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha¹⁰

The location of the tribes mentioned will show that in the time of the Great Epic Uttarāpatha as the name of a division

¹ Kielhorn's edn., II, p. 296-99.

² IC. VI. 134-35.

³ PH, p. 235.

⁴ EI. XX. 79-80 line 10.

⁵ No. 80. CJ, I, p. 203; No. 99, CJ, I, p. 240; No. 117, also see No. 454, CJ, IV, p. 50, which refers to the Kaṁsa District of Uttarāpatha.

⁶ Ed. by Cowell and Neil, p. 407 :— Uttarāpathe Takṣaśilā nagaraṁ etc. The statement of the Mahāvastu that Ukkalā (Utkala) was situated in Uttarāpatha (III, p. 303) is erroneous.

⁷ No. 23, CJ, I, p. 61.

⁸ CL, p. 46.

⁹ vi. 15, 17.

¹⁰ xii. 207. 43.

18 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

was applied even to the Kabul valley to the north-west of the Indus. It may be noted that Yaśodhara while commenting on Bāhlika as mentioned in the Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana, says that it was in Uttarāpatha¹ : Bāhlikadeśyā Uttarāpathikāḥ.

But Uttarāpatha appears to have been used in a restricted sense in the Harṣa-carita. When Rājyavardhana is sent to invade the Hūṇa territory, Bāṇa (c. 625 A. D.) represents him as having gone to the north (Uttarāpatha)². The Hūṇas at that time were living in the Himālayas in Kashmir.³ In the Bārhaṣpatya Arthaśāstra, a work which is not anterior to the sixth or seventh century A. D., the Hūṇa country is mentioned in conjunction with Kasmir : Kāśmīrahūṇāmbaṣṭasindhavaḥ.⁴ So Uttarāpatha in the seventh century comprehended the Himalayan region to the north of the Punjab.⁵ A Jātaka story also places Uttarāpatha in the Himalayas.⁶ In some inscriptions Harṣavardhana is often styled as " Śrīmad-uttarāpathādhipati."⁷ The Cālukya records invariably describe Harṣa as ' Sakalottarāpathaśvara '⁸. The word ' Sakala ' points to the use of the word in its widest extent. But such references should not have any bearing on the extent of Harṣa's empire as they seem to be purely conventional and are an example of poetic fancy which so often comes to notice in inscriptions when conquests are described⁹. What, however, is clear is that in the seventh century A. D. Uttarāpatha as the name of a division was a familiar one and that it probably embraced a great portion of the Punjab with parts of the north-west frontier. If we are to rely on the epic tradition to which attention has been drawn, it even included the Kabul valley, or Eastern Afghanistan, the home of the Kambojas and the Yonas. The epic tradition is also supported by the evidence of an inscription of the time of Devapāla which

¹ VKS, pp. 370-71. ² Harṣa-carita, ed. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 132.

³ DUHB, p. 118; IHQ. III. 11-12.

⁴ Ed. by F. W. Thomas, op. cit. Intro., p. 8 and p. 21, Sūtra No. 103.

⁵ Cf. Uttarāpatha of the Rājatarāṅgiṇi (V. 215, RT, I, p. 214).

⁶ No. 77, CJ, I, p. 193.

⁷ IA. VIII. 46.

⁸ EI. V. 202.

⁹ CL, p. 47-48. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar says that Uttarāpatha in all these inscriptions meant only Northern India.

mentions Nagarahāra near Jalalabad ¹ as being situated in Uttarāpatha ². This agrees well with the statement: 'Uttarāpathe Puruṣapuramaṇḍale', found in a picture label of a manuscript of the Pāla period now in the Cambridge University Library ³. Puruṣapura obviously refers to modern Peshawar.

Ragarding Uttarāpatha, Rājasekhara says that it lay on the west of Prthūdakā: Prthūdakātparata Uttarāpatha ⁴. Prthūdakā, as we have seen, is the old town of Pehoa, situated on the south bank of the Sarsūti ⁵. This agrees with what he says about Madhya-deśa that Vinaśana marked its western boundary; for Vinaśana represented by modern Sirsa was situated a little to the south-west of Pehoa on the bank of the same river. From this statement it is clear that Rājasekhara meant Uttarāpatha to include the modern North Western Frontier Province as well as the whole of the Punjab up to the Sarsūti river at a point near Pehoa. He is silent about the western boundary of Uttarāpatha, just as he does not say anything about the eastern boundary of Prācya-deśa. But the evidence of the inscription of the time of Devapāla (815-850 A. D.) proves that the trans-Indus territories and the Kabul valley were in geographical position the same to which the name Uttarāpatha was applied in the centuries preceding the time of Rājasekhara (tenth century). So without extending the limits of Uttarāpatha too far on the north-west it may be stated that Uttarāpatha at a later time, was the name of the country extending from the Hindukush on the north-west to the river Sarsūti on the south-east. In a late Buddhist chronicle, the Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, which is described as a collection of "old and genuine traditions" of mediaeval Buddhism ⁶, mention is made of Turaṣka kings of Uttarāpatha: Turaṣkanāmā vairājā Uttarāpathamāśṛta ⁷.

The Mahābhārata again refers to Udīcya as the name of a division. ⁸ Mention is made of people going from Madhya-deśa to Udīcya-deśa ⁹. The Raghuvamśa contains an important notice

¹ CAGI, pp. 51 ff; YC, I, pp. 182-3, 185; IG. XIV. 12.

² Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 47, v. 3: Astuttarāpatha bibhūṣaṇa Nagarahāra itī etc.

³ FIB, I, p. 195 No. 30.

⁴ Kāvya, p. 94. See supra p. 125, fn. 2.

⁵ DUHB, p. 63.

⁶ AMKLP, p. 622, v. 13b; also see p. 88, vs. 2-3.

⁷ v. 30. 24.

⁸ xii. 168. 29-30.

regarding its identity. In verse iv. 67-68 the dietant expedition¹ of Raghu against the Hūṇas on the banks of the Oxus¹ is narrated. In the verse immediately preceding (iv. 66) Raghu is represented as having defeated the Udīcyas on his way to the Vaukṣū or the Oxus. Elsewhere we have shown that all these notices of the Raghuvaṃśa refer to the ancient Bāhlika country of the Oxus valley. That the Bāhlikas were designated as Udīcyas is also supported by a statement found in the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (3rd century A. D.) where we are informed that the Bāhlikabhāṣā was spoken of by the Udīcyas: Bāhlikabhāṣodīcyā-nām.² Similarly in the Purāṇas some of the tribes of the Oxus and the Kabul valley have been catalogued under the Udīcya Division. All these indicate that even the far north-western Oxus valley was included in the Udīcya division.

But in the period of the Brāhmaṇas as already noted, Udīcya was a designation of peoples living in the vicinity of the Uśīnara peak on the north and the Indus river on the west. Such traditions about Udīcya survived for the tribes mentioned under the Udīcya division of the Purāṇas are mostly to be located on the inner and outer fringe of the chain of mountains that connect Hardwar (Uśīnara) and Taxila (Takṣaśilā) the two Udīcya countries of the Brāhmaṇa period. Udīcya thus included both the northern and the north-western portions of India. So Hemacandra in his Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi writes: Paścimottara-stūḍīcya³. It follows, therefore, that ancient traditions agree in considering the northern portions of the Punjab and the region to the north of it, along with the Kabul valley lying immediately

¹ The river Sindhu of the passage is a mistake for Vaukṣu.

² Nāṭya-Śāstra, xvii. 52. cf. Udīcya-veśa of Varāhamihira, meaning Persian dress (IA. LIV. 61-71).

³ Abhidhāna, p. 380. Amarasimha in his lexicon (Amara-kośa Oka's edn.; Bhūmi-vargaḥ, 7) says that the country to the north-west of Śārāvati was Udīcya. For the views of S. Levi on some problems connected with the river Śārāvati and Pāṇini's notions thereon, see JAHRS. IX. 4-7. Udīcya is also mentioned in the Nalanda stone-inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva (EI. XX. 43 line 3). Mention is made of the northern country as 'Udagriṣā-deśa' in an Udayagiri cave (No. 10) inscription (AR. X 54).

to the west of the Indus and even the Oxus region as the Udīcya country or Deśa of ancient times.

Udīcya and Uttarāpatha may have been interchangeable terms for both these names were used to designate the Northern and the North-Western regions of India and also territories of the same geographical bearing outside it. The evidence of the Ghoshrawa inscription of Devapāla seems to suggest that Udīcpatha and Uttarāpatha were identical¹. In the Purāṇas, we have reference to the Udīcya Division in the chapters on geography and not to Uttarāpatha. And when Udīcya and Paścimottara are mentioned as the names of two divisions, the former is supposed to represent exclusively the Northern Division.

The Praticī-dīś or the Western Quarter is, however, left vague in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, mention being made only of the Apācyaś and the Nīcyaś whose identity is uncertain². It seems that the Aryans had little or no knowledge of the western coastal regions till the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, that is, about 900 B. C. Detailed information about the peoples of the western division is also lacking in Post-Brāhmaṇa literature. The list of the Solasa Mahājanapada of the Āṅguttara Nikāya excludes all references to the western sea-board of India. In the Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra we have a doubtful reference to Cutch (Koccha-Kachchha?). But mention is made of some countries of Western India in some lists of condemned countries as furnished by Baudhāyana (C. 4th century B. C.). By that time the Aryans probably had come into touch with the western realms bordering on the sea, and as settlements were springing up in those quarters, those lists were called for to set up a ring round Vedic Aryandom as against 'Sankīrṇayonayaś' or people of mixed origin.

Thus Baudhāyana after specifying the limits of Āryāvarta, ordains in his Dharmasūtra³ :—

"The inhabitants of Avanti, of Aṅga, of Magadha, of Saurāṣṭra of the Deccan, of Upāvrīt, of Sind, and the Sauvīras are of mixed

¹ Gaudalekhamālā, p. 47, 49.

² Ved. Ind. I. 25.

³ The Baudhāyana Dharmasāstra, edited by E. Hultzsch, Dresden, 1884, p. 3. I. 1. 2. 13-14 (SBE. XIV. 148).

origin.¹ He who has visited the (countries) of the Āratas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kālīṅgas (or) Prānūnas shall offer a Punaṣṭoma or Sarvapṛṣṭhi.² ”

Another law-giver, Devala (as quoted by Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya iii. 292). says :—

“ He who has visited the (countries of the) Sindhus, Sauvīras, Saurāṣṭras, inhabitants of the frontier regions, of the Aṅgas Vaṅgas, Kālīṅgas and Āndhras, should go through the ceremony of initiation anew ’.

Of the countries so named, Saurāṣṭra, Sindhu, Sauvīra were situated in the Western Division of India and were doubtless beyond the pale of Vedic civilisation as a visit to those that were forbidden. It should be noted that the western tribes are mentioned with contempt both in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.⁴ The two ancient law-givers even go so far as to prescribe a penance for expiating the sin of visits to those countries. It thus appears that even as late as 400 B. C. which is generally taken to be the date of the Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra the western countries were not Brāhmanised. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Baudhāyana seems to have made a distinction between the countries inhabited by the people of mixed origin and the countries which are placed under a ban⁵, but the views of Devala do not support such interpretation.

The Western Division designated as Praticya is mentioned in the Mahābhārata.⁶ The Bhīṣma Parva list shows that countries of the western coast of India were fairly well-known at that time. Other notices in the Great Epic are of great value in that they show that Sindhu, Sauvīra, Kaccha, Ānartta, Saurāṣṭra,

¹ Cf. “ Ānartā Aṅgamagadhāssaurāṣṭrā dakṣiṇāpathaḥ Apāṣyā sindhu-sauvīrā ” etc. saṅkirṇayonayah. Quoted in Smṛiti-candrikā, Saṁskāra Kāṇḍa, p. 22 (Govt. Oriental Library series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, No. 43, Mysore, 1914, ed. by L. Srinivāsachārya). Vyasa says Aṅgavaṅgāndhra Viṣayo ye etc. (Ibid).

² Āratān Kāraskarān Puṇḍrān Sauvīrān Vaṅgān Kālīṅgān Prānūnān iti ca gatvā Punaṣṭomena yajeta Sarvapṛṣṭhayā vā, Hultzsch, Baudh. Dh. Sūtra, op. cit. p. 3, v. 14.

³ ix. 3. 1. 8.

⁴ iii. 44. 3.

⁵ ABRI. XII. 109.

⁶ vi. 15. 17; v. 30. 24.

Aparānta, Kukura etc., were seats of political power and were connected in political matters with the people of Mid-India.¹

The limits of the ancient Praticya Division are, however, difficult to determine as it is not commonly noticed in early texts. We get a glimpse of its geographical limits only in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara (10th century). As to its position the writer says 'Devasabhāyāḥ parataḥ Paścāddeśaḥ'².

One writer identifies Devasabhā with Dewas in Central India³. But the old identification of the name with Ādarśavallī, i. e., the Aravalli Hills⁴ perhaps cannot be questioned. The suggestion that the original form of the name was Devasāpa or 'Punishment of the Gods', from which was derived Ptolemy's Apokopa⁵ (Aravalli Hills), however, cannot be accepted. In the Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasimha, Arbuda (same as Mt. Abu of the Aravalli Hill system) is described as 'Dēvasēvitā Kulācala ratnam'⁶. The sacred Kulācala (Arbuda) visited by the Gods was evidently the place for Devasabhā, the name known to Rājasekhara of Arbuda. Devasabhā was perhaps known to Kautilya as he notes a class of diamond called Daivasabheya.⁷ The Aitareya⁸ and Kauṣṭaki⁹ Brāhmaṇas again refer to the seer Arbuda Kādraveya, as a maker of Mantras, which may point to the antiquity of Arbuda and its name Devasabhā which was the designation of a section of Aravalli Hills.

When the Aravalli Hills formed the eastern boundary of the Praticyadeśa, the ancient appropriate application of the division seems to have comprehended the entire western region as far as Baluchistan and possibly even countries towards Persia on the west. It has been noted that Kālidāsa refers to the Pārasikas as westerners (Pāścātya)¹⁰. The inclusion of several names of Iran and the adjacent regions under the Western Division in the Purāṇas justify this remark. In a broad geographical sense all

¹ But the people of Surāṣṭra, like the Madras of the north are contemptuously referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (viii. 45. 28).

² *Kāvya*, p. 94.

³ *IHQ*. XIV. 749.

⁴ McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, ed. by S. N. Majumdar, p. 355.

⁵ *Ibid.* 76-7.

⁶ *IA*. XVI. 350 line 38.

⁷ *AS*, p. 79.

⁸ vi. i.

⁹ *xxix*. 1.

¹⁰ *Raghu*, iv. 60-65.

the countries of the western coast of India can also be designated as *Pratīcya*, although they may be shown also under the Southern and South-Western Divisions. There is bound to be considerable overlapping in the treatment of these three divisions. But as the *Purāṇas* distinctly refer to the Western, Southern and South-Western Divisions separately the former is to be understood as embracing the vast stretch of country lying only to the west of the Aravalli Hills and extending beyond the borders of India perhaps as far as Persia.

The *Prācī-Diś* (Eastern quarter) of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* later on known as *Prācya-deśa* was quite an important geographical division since the Vedic times. The reference to the *Prācyaṁ-diśi* with its *Samrāt* rulers (*sāmrajyāya*) when contrasted with the statement that the kings of the Middle country were assigned to ' kingdoms ' (*Rājyāya*), as stated in the passage of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 14) signifies the superior position of the rulers of the eastern country.

We, however, do not know what specific area was included in *Prācī* in the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, but the *Kośalas*, *Kāśis*, *Videhas* and *Magadhas* were the well-known *Prācya*s.² It is pointed out on the authority of the *Anguttara Nikāya* (Pt. I p. 66) that the *Kośalan* capital *Śrāvastī* was included in the eastern region.³ This, however, is in conflict with the boundaries of the *Majjhima-deśa* as set forth in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*.⁴ But as the *Brāhmaṇa* texts refer to some of the eastern peoples of India, such as the *Kāśis*,⁵ *Videhas*,⁶ *Āṅgas*,⁷ *Magadhas*,⁸ and

¹ It is also mentioned in the *Samhitopaniṣada Brāhmaṇa*. See Weber *History of Indian literature*, p. 34, fn. 25. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the *Prācya*s (i. 7. 3. 8).

² Oldenburg, *Buddha*, p. 393 fn.

³ *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1926, p. 128, fn. 1.

⁴ *Supra* p. 132-33.

⁶ *Śata. Brā.*, xiii. 5. 4. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. 4. 1. 14-17.

⁷ *Ait. Brā.*, viii. 22.

⁸ *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* which is slightly later than *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions (ii. 1. 1. 5) *Vaṅgas* and *Vagadhas*. *Vagadha* is a mistake for *Magadha*. But even in the *R̥gvedic* period the *Aryans* had heard of a distant non-*Aryan* people of Eastern India called the *Kikāṭas* (*RV.* iii. 53. 14). The *Atharvaveda* (v. 22. 14) mentions *Magadhas* as a border tribe in terms of contempt and they are explained to be one with the *Kikāṭas* in later works (cf. *Vāyu*, 108. 73).

even the Vāṅgas as existing at that time, they may have been known as living in the Prācī-dīś.

The boundaries of the Prācya-deśa are not difficult to determine *inasmuch as* the geographical limits of Madhya-deśa have been more or less strictly defined by all ancient writers. In the Manu Smṛti Prayāga is rigidly fixed as the eastern limit of Madhya-deśa, and this is also repeated in the Kāvyaśāstramīmāṃsā and in the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi. This combined testimony makes it clear that the Prācya-deśa lay to the east of Prayāga or Allahabad, where Madhya-deśa terminated. Benares was never included in Madhya-deśa but it formed the western limit of Prācya-deśa. Consequently Rājasekhara says: 'Vārāṇasyāḥ purataḥ Pūrvadeśaḥ.' This means that the country lying to the east of Allahabad, i. e., the region extending from Benares to the farthest eastern limits of India was anciently known as Prācya-deśa.

According to this view, the boundary lines (upper half) between the two divisions (Madhya-deśa and Prācya) may be approximately described as a straight line drawn from some point on the Ganges, on the confines of the modern districts of Allahabad and Benares, to some point near the Tari. Such a demarcation does not remotely exclude Sahet Mahet (sāvathī) from 'Puratthima Janapada' i. e., the eastern region as noticed in the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Pt. I. p. 66). Kāśī, Kośala, Videha, Aṅga, Magadha, Vāṅga were thus the recognised realms of the east from ancient times. So when Vātsyāyana mentions the general name Prācya² he must have been acquainted with the geographical application of the term. He refers to the king of Kāśī³, to the people of Kośala⁴ and Sāketa⁵ and to Aṅga, Vāṅga and Kāśī⁶, as well as to the people of Gauda⁷. The statement of the Jayamaṅgalā Commentary that the eastern country extended from Aṅga⁸ only shows the ignorance of Yaśodhara regarding this particular point. Thus Bharata in his Nāṭya-śāstra which is regarded to be a work of the same period as

¹ Kāvya, p. 93.

² VKs, p. 309 and 410.

³ Ibid. 299.

⁴ Ibid. 371.

⁵ Ibid. 411.

⁶ Ibid. 309.

⁷ Ibid. 360.

⁸ Ibid. 410.

Kāmasūtra (3rd century A. D.)¹, mentions four styles or *pravṛttis*, one of which is *Oḍra-Māgadhi*² style flourished in the *Prācya* countries such as *Āṅga*, *Vaṅga* etc.³ The list supplied shows that the *Prācya* of *Bharata* comprehended the entire region roughly formed by the triangle *Assam-Orissa* and *Nepal*. One significant point which deserves notice is that *Vatsa* is included in the list. But this entry is not supported by any other text, and besides, as already noted, the *Vatsa* kingdom (*Allahabad*) formed the eastern boundary of *Madhya-deśa*.

In the *Mahābhārata* mention is made of the Eastern Division⁴, the Eastern Quarter⁵ and the eastern people.⁶ *Kālidāsa* knew *Vaṅga* and *Suhma* as *Prācya* countries⁷ for he mentions the eastern sea which obviously stood for the Bay of Bengal.⁸ The *Prācya-deśa* of *Amara-kośa* lying to the south-east of the river *Śarāvati*⁹ cannot be defined accurately. In a later Buddhist work, the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*, mention is made of the river *Laubhitya* of the eastern country¹⁰ and other eastern peoples such as the *Kāmarūpas*¹¹, *Paundras* and *Oḍras*¹² *Āṅgas*¹³, *Vaṅgas*¹⁴ and *Gaudas*¹⁵.

¹ Winternitz *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, III, p. 3 fn. 3. According to late MM. H. P. Sastri, *Nāṭyaśāstra* was a work of the second century B. C. (*JASB.* 1909, p. 352).

² *Nāṭya-Śāstram*, ed. by Grosset, vi. 26.

³ *Ibid.* vs. 45-47.

⁴ ii. 29. 1 and 7.

⁵ *Raghu*, iv. 34-38.

⁶ *Amara-kośa* (Oka's edition), *Bhūmivarga*, 7. cf. *Ābhidhāna*, p. 380.

¹⁰ *AMKLP*, p. 89, v. 9b.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 10.

¹³ *Ibid.* 275, v. 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 325, v. 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* v. 9a.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 331 (last verse).

REDUPLICATIVE IN APABHRAṂŚA

BY

G. V. TAGARE

In the present article, I wish to draw the attention of scholars to the reduplicative element in Ap. By the words 'reduplicative element' I mean not merely the actual doubling of an inflected or uninflected word forming a simple expression, but also echo words and jingle compounds of rhyming element. Dr. S. M. KATRE in his brilliant article on 'Reduplicatives in Indo-Aryan' (*BLCRI* I. i. 60-70) has also used this term to express the totality of these formations. I am writing this article as the reduplicatives in Ap. have not received proper attention in that excellent paper. It will be found that Reduplicatives in Modern Indo-Aryan Languages show to a great extent nothing but continuation of the linguistic tendencies current in the Ap. period. As H. GÜNTERT'S *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* (Indo-germanische Bibliothek III Heidelberg) and W. STED'S paper on reduplication-composition in Pali (*Zeitschrift für Buddhismus* 6. 89-94, 1925) were not available to me, the historical-cum-structural amplification of the subject is left to other scholars. It is also important to study the stylistic aspect of this topic, but that is beyond the scope of this short article. — The Author]

Reduplicatives in Ap. (Apabhramśa) form an important category of words historically, structurally and stylistically. The present article, however, briefly indicates the different types of reduplicative-formations in Ap. as we cannot understand the history of reduplicatives in Modern IA languages unless we study this important stage of IA.

Reduplicatives in Ap. may be roughly classified as follows :

(1) Onomatopoeic Expressions.

(2) Āmredita Formations.

(3) Rhyme-words with real significant rhyming simpicia.

(4) Echo-words or jingle-compounds with one significant element.

(1) ONOMATO-POETIC EXPRESSIONS

Onomato-poetic expressions are by no means the speciality of Ap. WACKERNAGEL has given a number of instances of the reduplicative element affecting a single consonant, a syllable and group of syllables e. g. *kikirū* *kr* 'to tear to tatters', *catācatā śabda* 'the sound *cat cat*' (For details see *Alt-(indische) gram(matik)* II. 1. § 2). In literary Prakrits we find a number of multiplicatives containing the reduplication of a group of syllables e. g. *khalakkhalei*, *gumagumāyanta*, *guluḡulenta* (PISCHEL—*Grammatik* § 558). For Pali see GEIGER — *Pali Lit. U. spr.* § 186. Dr. KATRE has given a number of such instances from NIA. e. g. M. (Marathi) *gaṭ-gaṭ* 'swallowing sound', *gar-gar-ṇē* 'to whirl', Guj. *phaḍ-phaḍ* 'flapping sound', *baḍ-baḍ* 'gabble'; H. (Hindi) *phaṭ-phaṭāna* 'to flap wings', *phar-phar-ānā* 'to flutter'. (*BDCRI* 1. 1. p. 67).

Ap. literature is noted for its musical nature as most of the stanzas are meant for singing. It is quite natural that onomato-poetic expressions should abound in such narrative works as MP. (Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa*) Kkc. (Kanakāmara's *Karakāṇḍa-carita*), Bhk. (Dhanapāla's *Bhavisatta-kaha*) and the like. Metrical evidence also shows that they were composed for the lay public who while being entertained should learn something of religion, Philosophy and Mythology. Purely mystic and philosophical works e. g. Ppr. (Joindu's *Paramātma-prakāśa*), Dkk. (Kāpha's *Dohākoṣa*) Dks. (Saraha's *Dohākoṣa*) and others are comparatively free from them owing probably to their serious nature. I give here a short list of some of these expressions:

(A) *Nouns*: (1) *aḍavaḍa* (*aṭapaṭa*), (2) *kaḍayaḍiya* 'kaḍa-kaḍa sound' but in Sn. (Lakṣmaṇa-gaṇi's *Supārśva-nūtha-carita*) p. 76, *chāyā* on verse 176 interprets it as '*parāvarititam*', (3) *khaṇakhana* the same in M. (4) *ghaggharā* 'anklet' cf. M. *ghāgryā* (5) *jhaḍappaṇa* = *ākramaṇa* cf. Sk. *jhat*- showing quickness, M. *jhaḍap* 'sudden pouncing' (6) *ḍhekkāra* 'bellowing of a bull' cf. Hem. 4. 99 *ḍhikkaiḥ vṛṣabho gurjati*, M. *ḍhēkar*, *ḍarkālī* (7) *dhasakkaya* 'fear' cf. M. *dhaskā*, Guj. *dhasko* (8) *pukkāra* 'calling out' M. *pukārā*, H. *pukār* (9) *phukka* (*phūtkā*) 'hissing' (10) *bhambhā* 'a kind of drum', (11) *ruharukaya* 'eagerness' cf. M. *rukḥ-rūkh* (12) *hilihili-sara* 'neighing'.

(B) *Verbs*: (1) *karayara* 'To make *kar*-*kara* sound'. cf. M. *karkarṇē* (2) *kalayala* (*kalakala*) cf. M. *kalakal* (3) *khalahala*-sound produced by a flowing brook cf. M. *khalālṇē* (4) *khusa-khusa*- 'to whisper' cf. M. *khusabujṇē* (5) *gaḍayaḍa*- 'to thunder', cf. *gaḍayaḍi vajra-nirghoṣaḥ* in the *Deśināma-mālā* 2. 85; also H. *gaḍgaḍānū* M. *gaḍgaḍṇē* (6) *gumaguma*- and (7) *gulagula*- 'Trumpeting of an elephant', (8) *ghavaghava*- 'to glitter' (9) *cuma cuma*- 'warbling of parrots' (10) *ḍavaḍava* 'to wander here and there out of haste' (11) *taḍataḍa* - (12) *dhagadhaga* - 'sound created by the burning of fire' cf. M. *dhagdhagṇē* (13) *dhāḍhaḍa* = *garjitam chāyā* on verse 176 Sn. p. 77, (14) *dhāhāva* 'to weep loudly' (15) *bhinahina* 'humming of the blackbee' cf. M. *bhin-bhina* (16) *memmāya*- 'to bleat - the cry of a goat', cf. M. *mē karṇē* (17) *raṇajhaṇa*- and (18) *ruṇujhuṇa*- 'the sound of anklets or very small bells' (19) *ruha-cuḥa*- 'to warble' (20) *lalalala*-intensive of √ *lala*-, *lalalaliya* 'unsteady', *lalla*- 'an indistinct speaker', 'one who stammers', (21) *salasala*- 'to rustle' cf. M. *salsalṇē*, (22) *simasima*- 'the sound of boiling' (23) *hakkāra* 'to call', cf. M. *hāk mārṇē*, *hākārṇē*.

Many of these onomato-poetic verbs are still current in NIA.

(C) *Adverbs*

Onomato-poetic adverbs followed by *-tti* (*iti*) are also numerous. These generally accompany verbs of actions. e. g. *toḍai taḍitti* 'cuts it asunder' *phāḍai caḍatti* 'tears to tatters' *ghuṭtai ghaḍatti* 'gulps' 'swallows up'. In Marathi we have corresponding expressions e. g. *tāḍ-kan* or *tāḍ-diṣi*, *ghuṭ-kan* or *ghaṭak-kan* and others.

Onomato-poetic expressions in Ap. show that we are practically in the proto-NIA period. A detailed chrono-regional study of the onomato-poetic element in the Ap. is a *desideratum* from the point of NIA linguistics.

(2) *ĀMREDITA FORMATIONS*

From WACKERNAGEL'S *Alt. Gram.* II. §§ 59-61, it seems that *Āmredita* formations were chiefly of distributive and intensive nature in OIA. Such formations affected (1) substantives, (2) adjectives, (3) pronouns, (4) adverbs, (5) numerals, (6) verbs, and (7) verb-formations. Ap. shows a continuation of such formations. I quote here a few examples of each type.

(1) Substantives :— *khani khani* (*kṣaṇe kṣaṇe*) 'every moment', *janmi janmi* (*janmani janmani*) 'in every birth', *divi divi* (*divase divase*) 'every day', *paī paī* (*pade pade*) 'at every step', *nari ji nari* (*nare nare*) 'in every man'.

(2) Adjectives :— These have generally an intensive force. *dhoyāi dhoyāi* (**dhaulam dhaulam*) 'very much cleanly washed', *rakhiu rakhiu* (*rakṣitam rakṣitam*) 'very cautiously guarded', *vāriu vāriu* (*vāritam vāritam*) 'warded off again and again'.

(3) Pronouns :— *jam jam...tam tam* (*yad yad...tad tad*).

(4) Adverbs :— *kaha-kaha-vi* (*katham katham api*) 'with great difficulty, any how', *uddhuddha, ubbhubbhai* (*ūrdhvordham*) 'high up', *vali vali* (**valya = valayivā*) 'again and again'.

(5) Numerals :— *ekka-m-ekka* (*ekaika*). Here *-m-* is the binding element. We also find *ekkekka* cf. M. *ekek*, also *ekmek*.

(6) Verbs :— *kaḍha-kaḍha-* (*kvath-kvath-*) 'to boil' cf. M. *kaḍh-kaḍh-ṇē*, H. *kaḍ-kaḍānū*; *utthutthu* (= *uttiṣṭha + uttiṣṭha*) 'get up', *vaḍa-vaḍa* (*vaḍ-vaḍa-*) 'to prattle' cf. M. *baḍbaḍṇē*.

(7) Verb-formations :— *jyanta jyanta* (*jīvat jīvat*) 'alive, quite alive' cf. M. *jivant jivant*.

Āmr̥dita formations in NIA are discussed by Dr. KATRE in BDCRI 1. 1. p. 67.

(3) RHYME-WORDS WITH REAL SIGNIFICANT RHYMING SIMPLICIA

In NIA we have a number of reduplicatives of this type e. g. Marathi: *ramat-gamat* 'playing and idling', *jantar-mantar* 'hocus-pocus', *khāmjanī- bhānījanī* 'addition and subtraction'.

Gujarati: *jarī-marī* 'epidemic', *rahyū-sahyū* 'remaining at rest', *calan-valan* 'movement'.

Hindi: *ab-tab* 'presently', 'occasionally', *idhar-udhar* 'hither and thither', *ānā-jānā* 'coming and going'.

In Ap. we have a similar type of reduplicatives which may be regarded as a precursor of these NIA rhyme-words. To take a few examples!

Kala-mala interpreted as *kāluṣya, irṣyā-janīta khedaḥ* cf. Mar. *kaḷmaḷ, tallo-villi* 'impatience', 'confusion', cf. Guj. *tālāvelī, ruku-ghulanta* <√ *rud*-√ *ghūrṇ*, *vaṭṭuttiviḍi* = *vaṭṭa + uttiviḍi* 'pots piled one above the other' cf. Mar. *utranḍ, viḍāviḍa* (<√ *viḍ*-?) = *racita, kalpita*,

(4) ECHO-WORDS OR JINGLE-COMPOUNDS

WITH ONE SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT

I do not include Frequentatives e. g. *gama-gamma-i* 'to go', *ḍhaṇḍholai* 'to wander' under this. The examples are selected irrespective of what part of the word is significant. Here the significant part is pointed out separately.

Khala-bhaliya 'alarmed, startled' (JACOBI on *Bh. k.* 245. 2) <√ *khala-* (√ *skhal-*), *cilivīla* 'loathsome, nauseous', <√ *vīla* (*vīḍ-*) 'to be ashamed of, to blush'. Is it originally *cīḍ* (*cīḍḍa* 'to grow wet') + *vīla*? Cf. Mar. *cīḍḍāḍ*, *jhalu-halāi* 'shines brightly'. √ *jhala-* (*jval-*) 'to burn'. cf. Mar. *jhaḷāḷṇē*, Hindi - *jhaljhalānā*, *pellā-velli* 'whirling, confusion'. <√ *pella* (*prer-*) *hala-bo(ṇa)* 'confused noise' <√ *bolla* (**bruḍ-*) 'to speak'.

The very large number of such jingle expressions in Ap. shows how vital is the study of this element in Ap. for the history of similar formation in the development of IA dialects. A reference to Dr. S. M. KATRE'S paper mentioned above (*BDCRI* I. i. 60-70) is enough to show the importance of this type in NIA.

Although I have briefly indicated the types of reduplicatives in Ap., I hope, they are enough to show the importance of Ap. in the history of reduplicatives as a formative element in the development of vocables in IA. As this paper deals with Ap. linguistics in general, it is beyond the scope of this article to point out the importance of chrono-regional study of these Ap. formations in the history of each NIA dialect.

THE IMAGERY OF RGVEDA

BY

P. S. SASTRI

Imagination is a peculiar mental faculty entering right into the vital essence of the object perceived or conceived. While Fancy demands variety and moves from image to image without finding out its essence, but only trying 'to amuse itself with the likeness of things that give pleasure or have an emotional and pathetic interest',¹ Imagination takes rest in a single image comprehending it fully. Fancy removes the chaos in the feelings and sensations, and Imagination sustains and develops the feeling that animates the image. Feeling extends over the whole universe, and widens the realms of experience. It is expressed in the image. "Art is the unreflective intuition of Being. It lives in the image as in a kingdom. It lives upon pure images."²

Every poem is made up of many images that make concrete the sense and its awareness. Feeling is the all pervading principle here, and it is visible at every step in every image. And what the poem comes to represent by way of imagery is only feeling in a transmuted form, though the imagery evokes in the reader feeling or intuition. The chaotic feelings and sensations are raised to the status of an image by certain literary devices, and they gradually acquire a permanent place revealing the special genius of that language. The figure of speech steps in to familiarise the unfamiliar by comparison and contrast. Though it starts with this purpose, it soon becomes one of the important beauties in a good poem.

(i)

A comparison of the imagery of Rgveda with that of the classical Sanskrit Literature will reveal that these two streams of poetry do not belong to the same literary culture. Some of the interesting concepts that form the mainstay of classical sanskrit imagery are conspicuous in the Rgveda by their absence.³

¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica.

² B. Croce : Aesthetic.

Winternitz : History of Indian Literature I.

Himālayas, which acquired a national and religious importance later on in Kālidāsa and others, occur only once in the Rgveda (10. 121. 4) by way of Hiranyagarbha's possessions. Ganges which has made even Heine sing.....

“ There are sweet smells and lights by the Ganges
And giant trees stand there,
And beautiful silent figures
Are kneeling by lotus flowers ”...

Ganges occurs a few times more, but it has not acquired a literary value. The lotus, without which there is neither love poetry, nor any description of the lady in the classical literature, does not occur here even ten times. The cool Southern breezes, the emotional moonlit nights, and the facts relating to cupid are absolutely unknown here. There is much of description in the Rgveda but there is no place here for the eighteen types that play the most important role in the later poetry. As Hillebrandt observed,¹ a big gulf exists between these two cultures. In the Rgvedic times “ beautiful women showed themselves freely in public feasts, dances and the like. They flocked to the festive gatherings. Many solitary, unprotected women—‘ brotherless maidens ’—gave themselves up to prostitution. We hear of incest, seduction, conjugal unfaithfulness, procuring of abortion, deception, theft and robbery”,² though all these are strongly condemned.

The Rgvedic imagery leaves out the ficus indica and the tiger. It adopts the images taken from the rearing of cattle, lowing of the cows and bulls, Gods and music, milk and butter, sword and skin, shipping and gold, women and angels, and art and nature. It is all a sort of pastoral golden age. For the vedic poet, art never resided in the remote and in the distant; the enchantment of the distant never beguiled him. He perceived art and beauty in his surroundings and in his fellow beings. Consequently his imagery is familiar, simple, unexpected and elevated. Where the ordinary man of today sees a prosaic, matter-of-fact truth, there the vedic poet beheld sublime poetic truths. The sweetest music is the lowing of the cows hastening

¹ Vedische Mythologie, II, 18.

² M. Winternitz: History I.

20 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

to their calves.¹ 'The singers shout to Indra as the mother cows bellow to the calf.' Similes and metaphors drawn from their cattle and household are in innumerable quantities. Next comes imagery of the sea with its surging waves and flowing wives. Ladies and unmarried girls yielded fruitful and lively imagery as is evident from their fondness to recur to them as often as they could. Everywhere the tone of an active, joyful and cheerful life they lived is heard. They loved beauty and activity and gloried in the successes on the battle grounds and in the exalted flights of love and invocation. We miss here the effeminate, ascetic and pessimistic moods of the latter day.

Abel Bergaigne has made certain observations on the figures of speech in the R̥gveda.² In his conception, "the rhetoric of the Veda is in reality a bizarre one which seems to shock even to this day the most authoritative interpreters of the R̥gveda." This note of peculiarity is inherent in the Vedic conception of Imagery. The poet figures soma as a lover and suddenly speaks of it as a hawk or a horse with wings. In so doing he mixes up many ideas and presents before us an out and out original imagery. Thus, often we come across complex imagery.³

The team of Ásvins is composed of birds; the birds become their wings and they themselves are compared to birds (5. 74. 9). Further their horses themselves become wings (6. 47. 31.). The rivers play an important part in the vedic imagery. Rivers are often compared to horses that run. But we are also told that horses are rivers (6. 46. 14). The rays of the sun are compared to horses and so we hear that the rays draw him (1. 50. 1). Prayer is figured as a horse and the poets speak of yoking the prayer (1. 18. 7). Indra is the bull of prayers (6. 17. 2) and he is invited to approach the stable (6. 88. 1).

The cow has a conspicuous role in the vedic imagery. The poet is a cow (1. 187. 11.), a good milker when he composes the hymn. The prayers go forward bellowing toward soma (9. 97. 34). Waters in the river are compared to cows in a stable. So the

¹ A. A. Modonell.

² A. B. O. R. I. XVI, XVII.

³ The next, three paragraphs summarise Abel Bergaigne's thesis with slight changes.

poet images a river containing all the cows (4. 19. 6) and the rivers filling the same stable (2. 35. 3). The dawns figure as cows, warriors and virgins and these features are transferred to cows also. The dawns become birds and swans and so there are birds with red wings. They are the brilliant posts that come like swans. They are again mares and mothers of cows and the celestial ocean becomes an ocean of cows. The udder of cows represents the clouds above. The cow figures also for ' milk, butter, skin, straps or bowstrings made of skin '.

The kindling of the fire is the awakening of Agni. And it is said that Agni is awakened with a billet of wood (5. 1. 1.). Soma is the animal of the vat (5. 50. 4), a bull and a drop (6. 41. 3), and we hear that the plant lows (9. 74. 5.). The liquor of Indra passes to his bolt and we hear of his intoxicating bolt (1. 121. 12). This is more or less a transferred epithet. When prayer is offering, the tongue of the poet becomes the spoon. So the poet eloquently invokes Agni with the spoon (2. 10. 6). It also becomes a team of horses, a web of threads and the like. And closely allied to these is the imagery of the cloud. The cloud figures as the mountain, as the udder and so on. The lightning becomes the horse and the waters contained in the cloud are the milk. In this way the complexity of the vedic imagery is heightened till it becomes bizarre.

The whole field of vedic imagery can be broadly classified into various sections. First we have the sacrificial imagery. Then there is the martial imagery. The various occupations gave rise to another class of figures. Gold also gives us a peculiar type of imagery, though splendour and beauty seem to be stressed here. Animals and birds, ships and sea, clouds and cows, Nature and women enrich the imagery of Rgvedic poets in manifold ways.

The Rgvedic poet is able to pick up his imagery from the most commonplace things and affairs. He poetises it and presents it as quite fresh and new. The poetic eye is keen and acute in penetrating into the subtleties and complexities of the simple. The next important factor in this imagery is its complexity and the resulting bizarre nature. A solution for this can be obtained by interpreting these images from similar Rgvedic passages. Thus Rgveda becomes, as von Roth observed, its own commentary.

Though there is much of imitation in this imagery, we do not find the so called 'Kavisamayas' that have encumbered the latter day poetry. Everywhere in R̥gveda there is freshness and innocence breathing throughout the entire range of image. This imagery is not a creation of fancy for it is based on solid, irrefutable facts of existence. It is the result of a deep diving imagination.

(ii) *The Sacrificial Imagery*

Ritualism has given an impetus for the composition of certain songs. Other songs have been influenced here and there by way of supplying the figures of speech. Here the vedic poets drew material from purely prosaic things; but they gave an entirely different shape to that material clothing it in pure art.

The morning sacrifice is a rich new car (2. 18. 1). The wide stretched seven reins meet in the leader of the sacrifice (2. 5. 2). The seven reins are the seven priests who are engaged in their duties, the leaders being 'Netar' or 'Potar'. Chasing the miscreants and gloom, Bṛhaspati mounts the refulgent car of sacrifice, which destroys the foes and demons and brings back the cows and light (2. 23. 3). Agni drives the chariot of R̥ta, being the great high priest of the gods (3. 2. 8.). After the sacrifice is over they send the car forward with R̥ks and soma. "The chariot's mighty ones are fourteen others: seven sages lead it onward with their voices" (10. 114. 6, 7). The chariot is the sacrifice and its mighty ones are the priests. Just as a chariot leads one safely to his goal and helps him win the field, the sacrifice also fulfils the wishes of the priest by helping him in his activity. But the poets are not content with simply picturing it as a chariot. They mix up the metaphors, as is clear from the part assigned to the holy songs and verses. The sacrifice is a chariot and the ritual a race (10. 102. 7). It is a three-backed, triple-seated car (9. 62. 17); the three backs are three daily savanas and the three seats are the three vedic formulas. The priests are the horses that carry the chariot of sacrifice when it is said that 'the seven swift steeds joy as usual' (3. 4. 7). Like a horse the seer has bound himself to the pole and carries it (5. 46. 1). The pole is a metaphorical expression for the sacrificial duties. Agni drives the chariot of R̥ta (3. 2. 8). Here Agni

is the leader of the sacrifice. Indra has guided the reins and the car of these with the horses of the chariot (10. 93. 9). Again the priests are the horses. Yet the seers take up the reins like drivers of the chariot (10. 130. 7).

The sacrifice is also a ship. Ásvins are requested to " come in the ship of the poet's songs. Ásvins harness the car. The heaven's wide vessel is their own, and their chariot waits on the shore of the floods ". (1. 46. 7, 8). A part of their journey is to be in their chariot itself, while the other part is in a ship through the heavens. The atmospheric region is the sea, the heaven and the earth being the two shores, and the song of the poet becomes a ship. " O Agni, grant to our chariot, to our home, a boat with constant oars and moving feet " (1. 140. 12). The boat is the sacrifice, the oars are the priests, and the feet are the songs, Gods and offerings. The sacrifice is a ship that carries them safely (8. 42. 3 ; 10. 44. 6 ; 105. 9). It is a well-oared heavenly ship that does not allow the water in (10. 63. 10). It is well furnished with oars for transport (10. 101. 2).

The sacrifice is also a thunderbolt (1. 8. 3 ; 40. 8 ; 8. 56. 20 ; 10. 144. 2) for it can equally quell the miscreants and enemies. It is also treated as a mighty cloth in the famous verse (6. 9. 2):

" Nāham tantum navijānāmy otum

No yam vāyanti samare ' tamānāh ".

The threads of the warp are the metres, and of the woof are the liturgical prayers and the ceremonial. Their combination brings forth the cloth of the sacrifice. It is regularly spun (10. 101. 2). It is the thread of ancient times that is to be spun (8. 13. 14 ; 10. 53. 6). The Gods have spun the sacrifice that stirs the mind (8. 81. 21). Soma spins the triply twisted thread (9. 86. 32). These refer to the three daily savanas. Agni has a lengthened thread (10. 69. 7). It is the sacrifice that is coming from a great antiquity. ' It is drawn out with threads on every side stretched by innumerable ministers. The fathers sit beside the warp and exhort weaving. The Purusa has outspun it to the vault of heaven ; the pegs are fastened to the seat of worship and the sāma hymns are their weaving shuttles ' (10. 130. 1. 2). This is an elaborate and lucid imagery of weaving applied to the intricate and subtle

sacrifice. The female weavers, night and dawn, interweave in concert the long extended t'read, the web of worship.' (2. 3. 1). At the approach of night, the devout has left off the web in the midst; reweaving, the night weaves afresh (2 38, 4). The young parents, heaven and earth, weave the sacrifice duly to soma (9. 102. 7)

Ploughing has provided another opportunity for a different image regarding the sacrifice. All the ideas concerning ploughing, sowing and reaping are applied in 10. 101. 3-6.

" Lay on the yokes, and fasten well the traces ;
 formed is the furrow, sow the seed within it.
 Through song may we find hearing fraught with plenty ;
 near to the ripened grain approach the sickle.
 Wise, through desire of bliss from Gods
 the skilful bind the traces fast,
 And lay the yokes on either side.
 Arrange the buckets in their place ;
 securely fasten on the straps,
 We will pour forth the well that hath copious stream,
 fair flowing well that never fails. "

The pressing stones become the stone wheel and axes, and the place where the juice is extracted a cow-stall. The strainers of the juice are the coats of armour, and the protections ensured by the sacrifice are the Iron forts. The Blessing is the milk. The fingers that press are the tenfold girdle, the arms are the chariot poles, and the pestle is the horse (10. 101. 7-10).

Soma is the head of the sacrifice (9. 17. 16), while Agni is the priest (7. 14. 2). " The sister stands by the Mother and the priest exults at their approach like corn at the coming of rain " (2. 5. 6). The sister is the dawn and the mother the earth. In Viśvāmītra's eyes the priests become zealous bulls and Gods (3. 7. 7). And the finest image regarding the sacrifice is comparing it with ' gaura ' and ' vṛṣabha '. It is a four horned buffalo (4. 58. 2). It has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands, the steer is bound with a triple bond and it loudly roars (4. 58. 3). The horns are the vedas, the feet are the daily savanas, the heads are the brahmaudana or pravargya ceremonies, and the hands are metres. The triple bond is made up of mantra, kalpa and

brāhmana, and the steer is the sacrifice. If the steer refers to Āditya, Sāyana observes, then the horns are the four cardinal points, the feet are morning, noon and evening, the heads are day and night, and the hands are the rays, while the triple bond is made up of the three regions. But Mahidhara's explanation is more probable. According to him the horns are the priests, the feet are the yedas, the heads are the sacrifices, and the hands are the metres. Pātañjali interprets it as referring to grammar. This is the elusive nature of symbolic poetry.

Thus the sacrifice is imaged as a chariot, a ship, a cloth, an act of agriculture and an animal. There is a conscious effort of driving, rowing, weaving or ploughing here, intensely stressing the aim and process of the ritual. The employment of this imagery has brought forth clearly a purely literary picture of the mechanical sacrificial technique. The songs dealing with the ritual have become in this way wonderful pieces of literary art.

(iii) *Martial imagery*

Martial exploits include the race, the chariot, the horses and other implements. The Vedic poets employed these things figuratively too to bring forth some other ideas. As has already been noted the chariot came also to signify the sacrifice. Savitar and other solar phenomena have chariots implying the bright light, the rays figuring also as horses and reins. The chariot of Savitar is decked with pearls, of various colours and a golden pole, yoked by white footed horses (1. 35. 4, 5). The horses have pearly trappings (1. 126. 4). There are horses that have tails like the peacock's plumes (3. 45. 1). The seers deck the song like a horse for glory (1. 61. 5). And Vasiṣṭha imagines the song as a chariot worked out in spirit (7. 64. 4), as it goes like a chariot direct to the gods. The resonant songs are the tawny horses that fly eagerly to Agni (7. 5. 5). Agni is lord of the horses (7. 1. 5), for his flames are viewed as steeds. And yet the song is a golden car of Indra (1. 30. 16).

Āsvins mount the car of the songs (1. 112. 2). Dakṣiṇā has a broad chariot, though she herself is one such (1. 12. 3, 1). Āsvins restored Vandana, like a car worn out with time (1. 119. 7). Agni is to be glorified like a most famous car (2. 2. 3), and many a time do the poets repeat that they fashion their songs as skilled

workmen carve their chariots. Herein lies the justification for their naming the song a chariot or a horse.

Dadhikrā springs forth like a hero glad to join battle, whirling the car, and flying like the tempest (4. 38. 3). This beautiful image brings to the forefront the impetuous speed and valiancy of this supposed celestial horse. In the previous verse the poet has observed that this horse is like a valiant king to be honoured by all. But shortly after, it is said that the people cry loudly after him in battles, as if it were a thief who steals away a garment (4. 38. 5). This is the idea that suggests to the simple onlooker from a distance, though it in reality is not so. And the poet has done full justice to his poetic imagination by giving life to these feelings and picturing them skilfully and delicately.

The horse again is an image representing the clouds, waters and rivers. The swiftness of the steed's movement is proverbial and it is but a quick jump to conceive of the swiftly flowing rivers as horses and mares. The Maruts lead forth the strong horse so that it may rain (1. 6. 46). Here it is evidently the raincloud, pictured as a steed. Agni is a neighing horse (1. 173. 3) like the lightning (2. 35. 6). Uṣas is red in colour like a dappled mare (1. 30. 21; 4. 52. 2). The swiftly flowing rivers vipāś and śutudrī are like two mares competing for the love of their lover. They move as it were like chariots (3. 33. 1, 2). The celestial Agni has mares, whom he mounts and guides. He makes them burst forth (3. 7. 2, 3). Here the mares are the clouds and Agni is the lightning. The racing mares are made to represent the libations offered by the priests (1. 45. 3). The songs are the fleet-footed mares, eager for glory (4. 41. 9). The strong stallions and the mares have a common dwelling place (10. 5. 2). The mares are the waters of the firmament. Again it is said that the mares fly quickly in order, as if it were a race (7. 8. 7, 1). Here they are the rivers.

Further the horse is a day, the quick movement of the latter being the origin of the image. It is the peculiar horse of the gods, always represented by the light that hovers round them. The days are imaged as the racing steeds (1. 155. 6). The footless maid, Uṣas, has come with feet; and stretching her head and speaking loudly with her tongue, she has gone downward thirty

steps (6. 59. 6). These steps are the days here. Uṣas, the daughter of the skies has a chariot, which Indra quelled and ruined to pieces, as she was rising up in her pride. "Indra crushed with his bolt the car of Uṣas rending her slow steeds with his rapid ones (2. 15. 6, 7). This is the image of the gradual extinction of the dawn as the sun comes up. Her horse is white and fair (7. 77. 3). But the entire heaven itself is a courser, and Indra or the sun its child (10. 73. 10), while savitar is the strong courser (10. 141. 5).

The flowing soma is the immortal horse (9. 9. 6); but he is decked like a prize winning steed (9. 85. 5), and yet he goes to Indra to gather booty like a chariot (9. 90. 1); for victory and for glory he hastens like a horse (9. 97. 25). The juice is sent to the sieve like a chariot horse, and the horse steps forward to the goal (9. 36. 1). The whole ninth book is full of images about the horse, the flowing soma, giving such an appearance.

Agni is strong and impetuous like a war horse (1. 36. 8), while Indra is both a bull and a car (1. 54. 3). Agni is pleased like a strong steed (1. 69. 3), for he is the horse of the cloudy skies (1. 14. 9). And yet he is also the car (5. 18. 3). But his vigour is like a wide spreading net, and he goes like a powerful king with attendants (4. 4. 1).

The war songs are full of beautiful images that impress the heart with the essential martial values and customs. To begin with, the soldiers are called the hunters (4. 20. 3). In his uniform as the warrior seeks the lap of battle, his look is similar to that of the thundering rain-cloud (6. 75. 1). The string is the lady and her lover is the ear. As the soldier draws the string to his ear, she presses and holds her beloved in embraces, and whispers (6. 75. 3). The two ends of the bow meet like a woman and her lover, and carry their child, the arrow, like mothers (6. 75. 4). The quiver is the father of many sons and daughters (6. 75. 5). From behind, the reins declare the will of the charioteer (6). The hoofs of the horses rain dust. The rathavāhana that keeps the chariots in times of rest, is the oblation (8). The point of the arrow is made out of the horn of the deer, and so the poet pictures that the tooth is a deer, and the mouth iron, clothed in the feathers of an eagle (11, 15). The brace, worn on the

archer's arm, compasses the arm with serpent windings (14). The arrows fall where they like, like boys before they are left with the lock of hair (16). And Vasiṣṭha has a similar imagery too. Turvaśa who eagerly marched for battle to amass riches is like a fish urged by hunger (7. 18. 6). Those that fled from the battle field ran "like cows unherded from the pasture, each clinging to a friend as chance directed" (7. 18. 10). In the field they looked to heaven for help like thirsty men (7. 33. 5), for the horizon was seen all dark with dust (7. 83. 3). The swift horses of the deities are yoked by thought (1. 14. 6). This kind of imagery is profuse around the poets' invitations to the deities. Its value is purely imaginative, for it is beyond sensual perception. It is not a creation of fancy, for the images of both the horses and their yoking live in the song.

The horses are again the daughters of the car (1. 50. 9) and the two bay steeds are also "like two slight images of girls, undressed, standing high" (4. 32. 23). But the pure bright rays of the sun are his red steeds (1. 72. 10). And to add to this, references to the war dances are not wanting in the text. The dancer Indra, has shattered ninety forts for his devotee (1. 130. 7). He is a dancer letting loose the floods and light (2. 22. 4). He is clothed in a beautiful garment, and he displays himself like an active dancer (6. 29. 3). The daughter of the sun mounts the car of the dancing heroes, the Aśvins (6. 63. 5).

Indra sharpened the edges of his bolt like a carving knife and hurled it on Ahi. He made the trees fall like a craftsman with an axe (1. 130. 4). And the peculiar golden bolt is his friend (10. 50. 2). But, for the priests, the Vasaṭkāra is the bolt (10. 144. 2), which is golden and can assume many forms and images like Indra. Vivasvān's ten requested Indra and he threw down the water jar from the sky with the three fold hammer (8. 61. 8). The ten are the daughters of Vivasvān representing the fingers or priests, and the hammer is the ray of light or lightning itself.

The Maruts are great lovers of ornaments and they have a vivid physical description in the saṁhitā. They have rings, spears, and daggers (1. 64. 10; 168. 3), and are born with glittering spears (1. 31. 2; 37. 2), which evidently are the flashes of

lightning. Considering the meaning of the tarn Maruts in classical literature, and their activity in Rgveda, the gorgeous description of these deities becomes relevant only when we conceive a great image.

Agni guards the donor like a well-sewn armour (1. 31. 15). He has a lofty arrow (4. 3. 7) which is but lightning. He slays the demons like an axe; the stable things yield to him like trees, and he is a skilled archer (1. 127. 3). The priests bring him near like an axe from a car (3. 2. 1). Man's sacrificial food has sharpened him like an axe (3. 2. 10). He flashes forth like the keen axe (5. 7. 8) and his celestial axe is the thunder-bolt (5. 32. 10). To enjoy the beauty of his form, the poet beholds the deity's rapid rush like the edge of an axe (5. 48. 4). His tongues are the sickles as he eagerly advances to the trees. He is driven by wind and speeds with teeth of flame (1. 58. 4, 5). Like a herd that crops the grass, he shears the field with flashing teeth and a beard of gold (5. 7. 7). His tongue is a hatchet and he is an archer who whets his splendour like the edge of iron (6. 3. 4). The wind blows upon his effulgent flames and drives them like the keen shafts of an archer (1. 148. 4). He spreads his winged flames with his tongue (4. 4. 2). And again the earthly and heavenly powers of Indra unite as flag with flag in battle (1. 103. 1)

(iv) *Imagery from occupations*

The imagery from the occupations is very frequent and has an air of tediousness around it. Apart from this tedium it is interesting in a way, as it gives an insight into the poetic touch pervading even the common place. Carpentry is the most resourceful of all occupations in the vedic times from the point of view of imagery. Verse making is often compared to it (1. 61. 4; 94. 1; 130. 6; 5. 29. 15). The songs are fair and well made like robes (5. 29. 15), and the poet imagines a thought like a workman (3. 38. 1). In addition to this figure, carpentry plays a vital part in the system of images. Indra sharpened the edge of his bolt like a carving knife to hurl it against the foes (1. 130. 4). The wolf that threatened Trita crouched and slunk away "contracting its limbs like a carpenter who bends over his work till his back aches" (1. 105. 18). The soma drops are requested to bring to

the poets their wish as a carpenter brings his newly made wheel (9. 21. 6). The capital joke on the carpenter is in the beautiful little song 9. 112. The smith with the ripe and seasoned plants, with the feathers of the birds of the air, with the stones and with the enkindled flames, seeks him who has a store of gold (9. 112. 2). The plants here stand for the arrows.

Like a smelter, Trita fans Agni and sharpens him (5. 9. 5). Agni smelts the woods like a smelter (6. 3. 4). Just as a blacksmith blows up his fire, melts his metal, and brings forth the objects, so did Brahmanaspati produce all the beings with blast and smelling (10. 72. 2). The divine Aṅgirasas smelt like ores their human generations (4. 2. 17). Here smelting has the significance of purifying and sanctifying. The arms of Viśvakarman become wings in producing heaven and earth (10. 81. 3); with the wings he fans the flame and smelts. The conception of the world tree is dominant in the minds of the seers; and a poet is eager to know the tree and the wood that produced it, out of which heaven and earth are fashioned (10. 31. 7; 81. 4).

Indra brought together the two worlds like a skin (8. 6. 5), but Agni made these two bowls, heaven and earth, part asunder like two skins (6. 8. 3). The deity rolled up darkness like a piece of leather (7. 62. 1). And Pūṣan is requested to "bring the six, bound closely, like one who ploughs with the bulls brings the corn" (1. 23. 15). The six are the seasons. The Aśvins have ploughed the first harvest in the sky (8. 22. 6); they sowed and milked out the food for man (1. 117. 21). 'The newest song is sung to the youthful purifying bulls like a tiller to his steers' (8. 20. 19). The bulls are the Maruts that send the delicious rain.

The sacrifice is treated many a time as weaving and spinning. The same imagery has also been applied to the song (1. 113. 17), and it only implies the dexterous weaving of the complex images, feelings, sensations and ideas into a single whole. Pūṣan weaves the raiment of the sheep and makes it beautiful (10. 26. 6). As Sāyana observes, he has made the vesture all around pure and bright with his heat and light. Again it is said that the irreligious obtain vāk sinfully; and spin out their thread in ignorance like spinsters (10. 71. 9). Pūṣan is requested to sharpen the seers like a razor in the barber's hands (8. 4. 16). When the

wind blows on and fans Agni as he marches he shaves the earth as a barber does a beard (10. 142. 4). The shining bulls, Maruts, have overcome the challengers in every fight like celebrated boxers (8. 20. 20). The poet wishes that the soma drops might cheer Indra when they come to him like to a trafficker (8. 45. 14); for, he alone can know the value of their sincerity and devotion, and reward them deservedly. Yet Indra excels in strength all the usurers and traffickers that see the day (8. 55. 10).

Just as a gambler piles up his earnings in a game, so Indra gained the sun (10. 43. 5), and won the advantage (10. 42. 9). The gods chastised the poets as a father punished his gambling son (2. 29. 5); but Indra seizes the riches of his enemy exactly like a gambler (2. 12. 4). On the eve of a battle the poet "calls on the Aśvins for help in a luckless game" (1. 112. 24). This is a metaphor from dicing representing the difficult-times. The dice itself is a swift moving horse (10. 34. 4). The dice is armed with goads and hooks, deceiving and tormenting the individuals (10. 34. 7). Like Savitar who is satyadharma, the troop of the dice sports in joy; they do not bend even to the anger of the greatest, but on the other hand the king himself pays homage to them (10. 34. 8). They are handless and force the man who has the hands to serve them; like lumps of magic charcoal they are cast on the board. Though by themselves they are cold, they turn the heart to ashes (10. 34. 9). The vedic poet has exhibited his extraordinary powers of imagination and pictorial powers while he said that the grave is the house of clay (7. 89. 1).

(v) *Imagery from gold*

Pischel and Geldner observe that the two important things in Rgveda are the search for gold, and the highly developed hetaerism¹. Though this is an exaggeration, still gold has occupied a prominent place in the figurative and practical spheres as well. At certain places gold and other terms meaning riches, do not seem to have that idea, but some aesthetic or spiritual happi-

¹ Vedische Studien, I: Einleitung.

ness. Probably the mystic experience of the sun has given rise to this figurative chain of ideas.

Savitar is preeminently golden. He has a chariot decked with pearls and with a golden pole (1. 35. 4). He has golden eyes and hands (1. 35. 8 to 10; 22. 5; 6. 50. 8; 7. 38. 2). Like the thunderer Indra, he is golden armed (7. 34. 4). He is golden and sublime, and his arms stretch up to the extreme limits of the skies (7. 63. 4; 45. 2). The radiant sun is the fount of joy to all as he ascends the high shining floods with his golden hair (10. 37. 8, 9). Heaven has streams of golden hue, and earth the tints of green and gold: and between this golden pair, the golden one, the sun, moves (3. 44. 3); and he is the golden bull that illumines the realms of light with his golden weapons and thunder (3. 44. 4). The Maruts shine in their ears as the gold gleams above in the skies (5. 61. 12). This gold is the sun.

Indra has a golden coloured chariot (3. 44. 1; 1. 56. 1). The fellies of the golden car of the Ásvins scatter crops (1. 139. 3). Their golden chariot has bright fellies and is drawn by vigorous horses (7. 69. 1). The seat, shaft, axle, wheels and reins are all golden (8. 5. 28, 29). And seven gold horses, representing the rays of light, carry the sun (7. 60. 3), while the hymner himself is a gold girt horse (4. 2. 8).

The Maruts deck themselves in glory having divine lightning on their hands and helms of gold on their heads (8. 7. 25). They have gold footed steeds, and golden swords (8. 7. 27, 32). Brhaspati also shares the golden sword with them (7. 97. 7), while Pūṣan is the best wielder of the golden sword (2. 42. 6). The Maruts have golden chains on their breasts, and golden visors on their heads (5. 54. 11). They are lustrous in their bright robes as the golden ornaments lay on their beautiful limbs (1. 85. 3). Glittering ornaments and golden chains are on their breasts, as the deer skins rest on their shoulders (1. 166. 10). They deck the universe with all ornaments and for a luminous show they accelerate their splendours (7. 57. 4). They have golden mantles (5. 55. 6), while Varuṇa wears a lustrous golden mail (1. 25. 13). The bolt of Indra is preeminently golden (8. 57. 3), though Brhaspati has an iron one. The song 10. 96 plays with the derivatives of hr- from the beginning

to the end, signifying taking delight, loveable, tawny, green, yellow or golden. It is a song about the horses of Indra. Indra's horses have golden tints (1). He is sung in the golden place, and has tawny steeds. He is offered the yellow drops (2). His bolt has the hues of iron and gold and is tawny. All forms of golden hue are set in Indra (3). The tawny-hued iron bolt had a yellow jaw (4). Indra's hair is golden and he is gold-hued from birth (5). The gold-hued soma drops run to gratify his wish (6, 7). He is the iron one with yellow beard, hair, and jaws (8, 9), and golden visors (12).

Agni is a golden bearded youth (10. 46. 5), and he is the golden hero that shines pure in his splendour (7. 10. 1). He is the golden reed among the streams (4. 58. 5), presumably the celestial lightning. And the sun has a golden car, and jewelled neck (1. 122. 14). The Ásvins march on the paths of gold (8. 5. 11; 8. 1), and are termed Rudravartani referring to the red and bright light.¹ Their car is decked with a sun-bright canopy with their golden forms (8. 8. 2). It has a triple seat and golden reins wandering throughout the universe (8. 22. 5, 9).

In a famous riddle song we read that "One is brown and active youth; he decks the golden one with ornament" (8. 29. 1). And as Ludwig observes, "the yellow soma juice is itself an ornament to the gold on the priest's finger."² Soma longs for gold and lows accordingly (9. 27. 4), and fingers that press it with golden rings probably are the glittering maids and glorious sisters (9. 65. 1). The priests cleanse this animal with gold and grasp it (9. 86. 43). Men decked with gold decorate his golden tendril (9. 96. 2). And finally he becomes the golden coloured one (9. 96. 24).

(vi) *Imagery from cattle and animals*

The R̥gveda represents a simple civilization whose governing principle was the worship of beauty. Some scholars have characterised it as pastoral. But there is only the aureole of pastoralism breathing the spirit of freshness, innocence and spontaneity, around the songs collected in the text. Various types of animals

¹ Pischel: *Vedische Studien*, I.

² *Der R̥gveda*,

play an important part in the figurative language of the Vedic poets. This does not mean that it was a pastoral civilization, for it insists on the beauty in the natural.

The Maruts eat up the forests like wild elephants as they assume their strength among the bright red flames (1. 64. 7). The elephant eats its firm hard food with swiftness (6. 4. 5), and this is the tree. Indra is a wild elephant invested with might and wielding the weapons like a dreadful lion (4. 16. 14). Indra cannot be compelled to do any thing like a wild elephant that rushes on this way and that, mad with heat ; yet, the poet asks him to come to the draught (8. 33. 5). And he that seeks Indra's enmity will fight like a stately elephant on a hill (8. 45. 5). This comparison has a vague air around it. When people decorate soma like a docile king of the elephants, he sits like a falcon in the wood (9. 57. 3). As hunters follow two wild elephants, the seers invoke Ásvins with oblations (10. 40. 4).

The Maruts roar like lions, but are beautiful like antelopes (1. 64. 8). This is a bizarre figure. They are clothed in robes of rain and roar like lions (3. 26. 5). When parjanya fills the sky with the rain-cloud, the roaring of this lion echoes (5. 83. 3). Tvaṣṭar's worlds revere the lion (1. 95. 5), who is Agni himself. But he is born both as a lion and as a loudly bellowing bull (3. 2. 11). Paura advanced to the ambush to be captured like a lion (5. 74. 4).

The demon is a dog (7. 104. 20). The foe is the dog that barks at him (1. 182. 4). He is the ass that brays in discordant tones (1. 29. 5). The images of the animals play a prominent part in the poetic conceptions of the cloud, bull, soma and the like. There is an unsolvable riddle when the poet observed that " the jackal drives the wild boar from the brushwood " (10. 23. 4, 10, 11). Bṛhaspati won with the help of the strong and mighty wild boars (10. 67. 7), which are undoubtedly the fierce Maruts.

It is said that no other wild bull knows his drinking place like Indra (7. 98. 1). The Ásvins have to drink the juice like two wild bulls (8. 76. 1). Agni has fled from his duties in terror, like a wild bull from the bowstring of the hunter (10. 51. 6). Indra is requested to come to the soma offering and drink it like a thirsty gaura (1. 16. 5). The mighty rain cloud is the gaura

animal formed with the waterfloods. It lows in the heavens, and the seas of water have their origins here (1. 164. 41, 42). The *Āsṛins* that fly like starlings to the forest trees, like swans that travel on their way, and like a pair of hawks, come in search of soma like buffaloes (8. 35. 7 to 9). Again, curiously enough we read that the soma drops which are like waves of waters flow to the vats like the buffaloes to the woods (9. 33. 1). Indra is to come to soma like the thirsty gaura that goes to the desert's water pool (8. 4. 3); and he is to drink the juice as a gaura does a lake (8. 45. 24). And yet soma too is the wild bull. The sages longed to meet him; they approached to hear the bellow of the wild bull (10. 123. 4). The bellow is the sound of the dropping juice. And yet it is the wild buffalo that Indra cooked for his parents (8. 58. 15).

Indra is the ram (*Vṛṣabha*) that hastens with his troops, the *Maruts* (1. 10. 2). He is the ram and the sea of wealth that fought valiantly (1. 51. 1). He is the ram that finds the light of heaven (1. 52. 1; 8. 86. 12). Yet he once came to the son of *Kapva* in the shape of a ram (8. 2. 40). The Vedic poet was often fond of the word *Vṛṣan* and its derivatives; and the play upon this word is many times intentional. At times it is even used as a slang.¹ Almost all the gods are spoken of as *Vṛṣabhas*. Indra, Agni, *Sūrya*, *Dyaus*, *Viṣṇu*, *Rudra*, *Brhaspati*, *Parjanya* (4. 56. 1; 6. 49. 6), *Prṣṇi* (4. 3. 10), the guiding deity of the year (3. 56. 3), *Maruts* (5. 87. 1; 1. 64. 2 etc.), *Vāta*, the rain-cloud (1. 79. 2; 164. 41), are all called bulls. Even the thunderbolt is a bull that waits constantly on Indra (10. 89. 9; 1. 131. 3). The chariot of the *Āsṛins* is a strong bull that comes like a cloud (1. 181. 6). Even the institutor of the sacrifice and soma are bulls (1. 164. 43). *Vipās* and *Śutudri* are not only a pair of mares and cows but also bulls. The stars too are bulls (1. 105. 10); and so are the pressing stones (10. 94. 3, 6). The fuel is the lair of the bull, Agni (4. 1. 12). The cloud is a wild boar shooting through the mountain (1. 61. 7). They are the boars that rush with the tusks of iron (1. 88. 5). But the cloud is also hound, a steed, and a camel (8. 46. 28), these being the various creations of fancy at

See Sieg: *Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*.

[*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

the appearance of the cloud driven by winds, Indra killed the ravening boar (8.66.10); and yet soma is the boar that advances singing (9.97.9).

The godless man is often imagined to be the wicked and inauspicious wolf (1.42.2). The rim of the stone shakes soma like a wolf worrying sheep (8.34.3). There is always something dark and injurious associated with the wolf (1.183.4). And even to the wicked wolf, Agni gave food (6.13.5; cf. 7.68.8). The robber is a savage wolf that rends the sheep (7.38.7; 8.55.8). The Ādityas are requested to rescue them, the bound thieves, from the mouths of the ravening wolves (8.56.14). The Āsvins freed the quail from the jaws of the wolf (1.112.8; 116.14; 117.16; 10.39.13). The wolf was already swallowing it. Yaska believed that the wolf was the bright sun. This is an oft recurring image and the quail is the dawn swallowed by the dark night. The Āsvins are the gods of light who rescued her. Purūravas and Urvaśī refer to the ravenous and evil-omened wolves that will devour the hero (10.95.14, 15). These evidently imply the night, if Purūravas is the sun and Urvaśī the dawn.

The wolf again plays a vital role in the ballad of Trita (1.105). "Torturing caves consumed him like the wolf assailing the thirsty deer." Once while he was going, a red wolf saw him. It "crept away contracting its limbs like a carpenter bending over his work till his back aches. According to the story in *Bṛhaddevatā* and other works, Trita and his brothers were chased by actual wolves. But Sāyaṇa reads the meaning of moon for *vr̥ka*, and it is possible that Trita is the sun.

The eagle leaves his talon as a snared lion leaves the trap that entangled him (10.28.10). The spotted deer that move swift as thought have an important role in the conception of the Maruts. 'If the poets were immortal and Maruts mortal, then the singer will never be hated like an unwelcome deer in a meadow specially meant for the cows' (1.38.5). Like the deer with unsubdued splendour the Maruts marched and lowered the hill that gives rain (5.54.5). The hill here is evidently the cloud. The other worshippers chase Indra with milk as hunters chase a deer (8.2.6); yet the deity prefers the poet's imperfect offerings alone, as they are sincerely offered. The soma juice

is like a swift deer (9. 32. 4) ; and yet the poet, invokes Indra to come to the drinking place like a thirsty antelope (8. 4. 10).

The Ásvins bring the singers their honey like labouring bees, like bees into the hide that is inverted (10. 106. 10). The inverted waterskin is honey. " The bee bears the honey of the Ásvins in her mouth, as the maid carries it purified in her hand ", as a lady resorts to her secret appointed place with her lover (10.40.6).

(vii) *Imagery from birds*

Birds of the air symbolise swiftness, flight into the unseen regions, soaring higher and higher. The Rgvedic poet who felt that he has to dive deeper and deeper into the locked-up mysteries of the universe began to picture even his Absolute as a bird. The birds have rays of light and are even drawn by horses and reins. Agni fled in haste to the waters to conceal himself, and he pants like a swan sitting in the floods (1. 65. 5). The celestial horses of the sun reach the heavens and put forth their strength like swans in order (1. 163. 10). Dadhikrā is a swan that seats itself in light and purity (4. 40. 5), and this swan is the Absolute. The chariot of the Ásvins is drawn by swans that are strong, gold pinioned and full of meath (4. 45. 4). And yet the Ásvins have to fly like swans to the place where the soma juice is pressed (5. 78. 1 to 3 ; 8. 35. 8). Soma makes every one sing his song like a swan (9. 32. 3) ; and yet the singers are the swans (9. 97. 8). The Maruts are the swans with purple backs that decorate the beauty of their forms in secret (7. 59. 7). Finally, the sun who is the friend of the celestial waters is the swan (10. 124. 9). The Ásvins come with the swift vigour of the falcon (1. 118. 11 ; 5. 78. 4). And yet it is observed that they are roused by the song of praise like a young bird that sits rejoicing on the tree (10. 29. 1). The streams of the rivers flow like birds to their resting places (2. 29. 15). And yet these birds are overcome by another greater bird. Indra crossed the ninety nine rivers like a frightened hawk across the regions (1. 32. 14). Indra figures as the nest of a bird also. The poet flies to Indra like a falcon to his cherished eyrie (1. 33. 2). The most bizarre example is the coupling up of the bird and the horse. Ásvins fly like

falcons with their winged steeds (5. 74. 9). The horses of Indra come quickly like rivers down a descent, and like birds attracted to the bait, being held in by reins (6. 46. 14). The sun is the red bird with strong wings entering the abode of the primeval father; and yet he is a spotted stone placed in the midst of heaven (5. 47. 3). He is not only the bird (1. 72. 9), but also a horse. He is a bird that flew from below through the skies; he has an unsurpassable splendour and is a horse that has a pleasant path (1. 163. 6, 7). Here it is the sacrificial horse that is figured both as the bird and as the sun. The celestial bird, sun, is also Sarasvat, the consort of Savasvatī (1. 164. 42). The Supreme Being is "divyah as suparpo garutmān" (1. 164. 46), 'the divine beautiful winged falcon.' The figure of the falcon is symbolic of the speed and soaring up into the highest heavens.

Agni protects the beloved and lofty place of the bird, sun (3. 5. 5). This lofty place is the altar. Angirasas have thrown open the cows' stalls; and the best place of the earth is guarded by the bird (4. 5. 8). The cows' stalls are only the regions of the dawns, the cows representing either the dawns or their rays. "Let not the enemy snare by day the neck of that celestial bird, sun" (6. 48. 17). Agni is "the sea, born many a time; he views the hearts within us; he hides him in the bosom of the secret couple. The bird lives in the middle of the fountain. Inhabiting one dwelling place in common, the strong stallions and mares have come together" (10. 5. 1, 2). The secret couple represents the two fire sticks. The bird is the sun and the sea the fountain is the atmospheric region, the source of light. The stallions are the flames or rays of light, and the mares the waters of the firmament. Throughout Agni is treated as the sun here.

Indra is identified with the sun, the red bird that had no nest to live in, even from the early days (10. 55. 6). And yet the two bay steeds of Indra have pursued the tail plumes of the bird (10. 105. 2). This is evidently an image of Indra chasing the sun. The sun is the messenger of Varuna, the strong winged bird mounting the heavens. This bird hastens to the home of Yama. He comes near the ocean like a spark looking up to the heaven with the eye of a vulture (10. 123. 6, 8). The flying horses of the Aśvins are the red birds (4. 43. 6). They are the strong

pinioned swans swimming the floods for soma drops, and the Ásvins come to the offerings like flies (4. 45. 4).

Agni is the falcon of the sky (7. 15. 4). Soma is the falcon that dips into the jars, yet moving into the vats of wood roaring (9. 67. 14). Soma is the heavenly falcon—"divyah suparnah" (9. 71. 9). The Maruts also are the falcons of heaven (10. 92. 6). The story of the bringing of Soma by the strong pinioned bird, the falcon's child, is too well known (10. 144. 4; 4. 26, 28).

Agni is the bird of the firmament (2. 2. 4). Seven singers with five adhvaryus protect the beloved place of the bird, and the willing bulls rejoice them (3. 7. 7). The bird is Agni while the bulls are the priests. The stars are the birds of beauteous pinion that sit in the midst of the skies (1. 105. 11). And Parjanya is the father of the mighty bird soma (9. 82. 3). The seers have to sing soma as a lover does to his beloved; and yet the soma settles in the goblets as a bird that flies to settle in the wood (9. 96. 23). Soma is the purple coloured eagle that looks down on the waters (10. 30. 2). It is the eagle that has fled to the heaven; and the songs kiss the child, the gold hued bird (9. 85. 11). Here soma is evidently the Moon. The heavenly eagle, soma, looks down (9. 97. 33). But the pressing stones also are conceived of as eagles. "The eagles have sent forth their cry aloft in heaven; in the sky's vault the dark impetuous ones have danced" (10. 94. 5). Yet Savitar has a strong pinioned eagle (10. 149. 3), which is probably the moon.

There is a triplet about suparna in the great hymn of Dirghatamas (1. 164. 20 to 22). Scholars and critics have variously interpreted the symbolism underlying the conception of the birds.

"There are two birds with beautiful wings closely associated in friendship and are colleagues. They have found shelter in the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fig tree's fruit, while the other simply beholds without eating. The wise guardian of the universe is there where these fair birds eternally sing in the sacred assemblies; and he found his entrance into me. Upon the top of the tree where these birds eat the sweet fruit and where they all rest and generate their progeny, the fig is luscious. None gains it who knows not his father". These birds refer to him who has spiritual knowledge and to him who has only the empirical knowledge.

(viii) *Naval imagery*

Ships and the crossing of the seas and the rivers are too well known to the seers. They took the ship to symbolise their getting over difficulties and bondage, sin and frivolity. At the impetuous march of the Maruts, the earth quivers and reels in terror just as a loaded ship that shakes lets the waters in (5. 59. 2). But over the broad fields of the skies they drive along like ships (5. 54. 4). Further we are told that the Ásvins launched four ships and saved the son of Tugra, who was cast headlong into the waters and consequently plunged into the deep darkness (1. 182. 6). "Tugra left Bhujyu in the cloud of waters and the Ásvins brought him back in animated vessels, traversing the air, unwetted by the billows" (1. 116. 3), and it was a ship with hundred oars (1. 116. 5). Sūrya climbed up the lustrous ocean yoking his fair backed tawny steeds; but the wise have drawn him like a ship through the waters, and the floods yielded (5. 45. 10). Pūṣan's golden ships march across the ocean lying in the atmospheric region (6. 58. 3). Here the ocean is only the firmament.

"Varuṇa placed Vasiṣṭha in a boat; and they both together embarked on the same ship and urged it into the midst of the ocean. As they rode over the ridges of the waters, they swung within that swing and remained happy" (7. 88. 3, 4). The thought of the poet is dispatched to Indra as by a boat over the rivers (8. 85. 11). Soma sends forth his voice like one who drives his boat (9. 95. 2). The poets "send sweet speeches to Indra and with hymns they speed them like the boats through the waters" (10. 116. 9). They further Indra like a ship and set themselves to the chariot-pole of strength (1. 131. 2). They want boats with moving feet and constant oarage (1. 140. 12), and this image represents the sacrifice.

Many a time do the poets speak of the over-coming of troubles and difficulties as crossing the waters safely with a ship. Varuṇa and Mitra are requested to bear them over trouble as a ship over waters (7. 65. 3). The Vasus have to carry them beyond all trouble and distress borne in their ship (8. 18. 17). Soma will carry them away with skill as in a boat over waters (9. 70. 10). Agni has to bear them over all woes and dangers as in a boat

across a river (5. 4. 9). The Gods have to transport them over many troubles as over water-floods in ships (1. 97. 8; 8. 72. 3), for "the ships of truth have borne the pious men across" (9. 73. 1). And the poet is eager to safeguard his well-being, for he requests: "Let not the sinful tyranny of any fiercely hating foe smite us, as billows smite a ship" (8. 64. 9).

The sacrifice is many a time treated as a ship, and so is the hymn. The final stroke appears in depicting the funeral pile. The spirit of the dead child mounts a new and wheelless car, having only one pole and turning every way. This he fashioned mentally (10. 135. 3) by being burnt on the pile. The sāman followed close the car that has rolled to them from the sages, and is laid together on a ship (10. 135. 4). The ship is the funeral pile.

The blending of the martial and the naval imagery is very happily achieved in 1. 48. 3: "Uṣas has dawned; she is the goddess, driving forth the cars, which fix their thoughts on her, as she approaches, like the seekers of glory on the floods" The appearance of the dawns sets the cars and the ships in action after their anchoring during the nights.

(ix) *Imagery of the sea*

The sea has a unique part to play in the Rgvedic imagery. The poet saw the sea below on earth. But the atmospheric regions which sent forth rain through the clouds are conceived as similar to the seas. The entire atmospheric regions have become a sea mainly because of the unfathomable nature of the universe. It is profound. Further, the poets usually speak of a tree that stood fixed surrounding the sea. The son of Tugra clung to that praying for the aid of the Aśvins, who bore him off safely "like twigs, of which some winged creature may take hold" (1. 182. 7). The heaven is a leafless and shadowless tree, overshadowing the earth (10. 27. 14).

Indra himself is the flood (1. 11. 6), the sea of plenty. Savitar is the child of the waters (1. 22. 6; 6. 50. 13). Agni is the offspring of the floods (1. 122. 4), and sits on the earth with precious things (1. 143. 1). This child of waters (3. 9. 1) neighs loudly

like a charger; yet he has the flaming hair that destroys the forests (5. 41. 10). "Like a rushing flood loosed quickly, Agni burns the deserts, like a guilty thief (6. 12. 5).

The poet has produced the noblest song from his soul like the rain from the cloud (7. 94. 1). The floods of heaven descend on the frogs that lie in the pool's bed as on a dry skin (7. 103. 2). The warring heroes can conquer any foe like the 'fierce water-flood repelling the furious ones (8. 25. 15). The waters of the sky are the doors that are to be opened (8. 5. 21). The mansion of the *Āsyins* is constructed above the sea (8. 10. 1). The bolt of Indra lies deep in the ocean surrounded by the waters (8. 89. 9). The sea is again symbolic of the unfathomed greatness (7. 33. 8). The *asurs* enhanced the might of Indra who spread himself like an ocean (8. 3. 4). All men bow down to Indra as rivers to the sea (8. 6. 4). The songs make Indra strong as rivers swell the ocean (8. 6. 35; 87. 8). The rivers are viewed as horses or mares. Sindhu moves on like a dappled mare that is beautiful (10. 75. 7). She has yoked her light-rolling car drawn by horses (10. 75. 9). *Vipās*, and *Śutudri* swiftly move like two contending mares with loosened rein, and like two bright cows that lick their calves (3. 33. 1). They move to the ocean as if they were on their chariots (3. 33. 2). They give way to the poet by bending low like a mother that sucks her child, and like a maiden that yields an embrace to her lover (3. 33. 10). And yet they are a pair of bulls (3. 33. 13). Sindhu rushes on bellowing like a bull, and like floods of rain that fall from the clouds (10. 75. 3). The roaring rivers run to sindhu like mothers to their calves, and like cows with their milk; yet sindhu leads these rivers like a warrior king his armies (10. 75. 4).

The floods have caught the colour of Varuṇa like womenfolk as they shone (10. 124. 7). The sun moves in friendship with the celestial waters, being the friend of the floods (10. 124. 3). Soma is the sea, as both bring forth the rain (9. 86. 29). Agni is the sea holding the treasures (10. 5. 1). The name of the Maruts extends like a sea (8. 20. 13). Indra receives the rivers that are spread every where, like a watery ocean (1. 55. 2). All the sacrificial viands wait on Agni as the seven mighty rivers seek the ocean (1. 71. 7). The viands hold Agni as floods hold an

island (1. 169. 3). Soma fills Indra to the brim like the sea (1. 52. 4). Finally Indra's belly is made similar to the sea (1. 30. 3). Yet Indra was filled full with splendour as a jar with water (4. 20. 6). Vṛtra, after he was quelled by Indra lies like a bank-bursting river; the waters take courage and flow above him (1. 32. 8). The waters flow into the throat of Varuṇa as if it were a pipe with ample mouth (8. 58. 12). The throat of Varuṇa is the sea to which all the rivers flow. The soma drops flow to Indra as rivers to the sea (8. 81. 22).

The chariot of the Aśvins travels in the sea (1. 30. 18), and round the sea of air (1. 180. 1). They are the sons of the sea, and yoke their car to come to the other shore in the ship of the songs. The heaven's wide vessel is their own; and their chariot waits on the flood's shore (1. 46. 2, 7, 8). The horse, symbolised as the sun, neighed springing into life and proceeding from the sea (1. 163. 1), the atmospheric region. The teams of the horses belonging to the Maruts speed on the extremest limit of the sea (1. 167. 2), the skirts of the sea of air. The Maruts travel through the seas (5. 73. 8). "They bathe their steeds and hasten through the firmament; they spread abroad their radiance through the sea of cloud" (5. 59. 1). Agni is born in the floods (8. 43. 28), as lightning. The poet requests the waters to give him the most auspicious juice like mothers in their affectionate love (10. 9. 2). Soma delights and joys in their waters as a young man with fair and pleasant damsels (10. 30. 5). And again the waters are "the maidens that low to the youthful gallant soma who comes with love to them who yearn to meet him" (10. 30. 6).

(x) *Imagery of the cloud*

The mountain and the cloud often collide in the imagery and become identical in treatment. At times there seems to be a conscious pun on the words. The cloud becomes a rock, a fort, a prison in which the waters are arrested. The whole atmospheric region is the cow, whose udder is the cloud-mountain. The waters become the milk. Indra has unclosed the prisons of the waters and seized the treasure in the mountain (1. 51. 4). Soma will burst the cask of heaven that holds the waters (9. 74. 7). The

cask is the rain cloud. And yet it is said: "The falcon pressed within the iron fort rushing with the swiftness of thought; the falcon went to heaven and brought the Soma to the thunderer" (8. 89. 8). This iron fort is the picture of the cloud in which Soma was imprisoned. Agni has to preserve his worshipper from pain and trouble in the iron forts (1. 58. 8). Apām napāt lives at a distance in forts that are constructed as strongholds of men (2. 35. 6). Again, with harnessed team like heroes over-coming troops, the friendly Maruts, laden with their water-casks, let the spring flow, and when impetuous they roar, they inundate the earth with floods of pleasant meath (5. 54. 8). Br̥haspati has burst the stony barriers of the prison accompanied by friends who sang in swanlike voices; and he speaks to the cattle in thunder (10. 67. 3). This is a complex figure. Indra cleaved his enemy's forts into pieces with his sharp bull (1. 33. 13), the thunder bolt. He broke the solid forts of Pipru (1. 51. 5; 10. 138. 3); and these are a covering veil extended over the earth (1. 33. 8). Indra destroyed hundred forts, ninety-nine forts and the like, of his enemies (1. 53. 8), and these impregnable castles (1. 61. 5; 6. 31. 4; 1. 102. 7) are no other than the clouds that imprison the waters. With his bolt and power, Indra shattered the forts of the Dāsas (1. 103. 3). With triumphant valour Indra broke the autumnal forts and made the water floods his own (1. 131. 4). As Muir has observed, "these forts are the brilliant battlemented cloudcastles." ¹ Indra broke down seven autumnal forts and stirred the billowy floods (1. 174. 2; 6. 20. 10). Indra destroyed the forts and scattered the Dāsas that lived in darkness (2. 20. 7). The ancients burst forth even the firmset fortresses, the mountains, with song (1. 71. 2.). And yet the lofty Indra is like a mountain in his native strength (4. 20. 6). He waxed in strength like a mountain on firm basis (1. 52. 2). The stronger Indra transfixed the wild boar, shooting through the mountain (1. 61. 7). The boar is a symbolic representation of Vṛtra, the mountain being the huge cloud that has enveloped vṛtra. ² And yet we are told that the Angirases cleft the stalls and disclosed the cowstalls (4. 16. 6). Being

¹ Original Sanskrit Texts, 2. 372.

² Cf. 8. 66. 10.

praised Indra burst the mountain (6. 32. 2). " Craving the cows, rushing against the mountain led on by law with holy-minded comrades, Indra broke the never broken ridge of Vala " (6. 39. 2). Uṣas has unbarred the portals of the mountain (7. 79. 4). The teaming milch cows of dawn were hid in the mountain stable, the firm, solid,*compact and enclosing stable (3. 1. 13, 15). The cows were held fast within the rock (6. 43. 3), and the waters burst as under the girdling rock (4. 18. 6).

At the birth of Indra " the steadfast mountains shook in agitation; the waters flowed and the deserts were flooded ". (4. 17. 2). When the Maruts harnessed the spotted deer to their chariots, the torrents of the dark-red stormy cloud rush forth and moisten the earth with water-floods like a skin (1. 85. 5). These Maruts " bathe their steeds and hasten through the firmament, and spread abroad their radiance through the sea of cloud " (5. 59. 1). And yet they shine amid the mountain-clouds (8. 7. 1), rend the limbs of Vṛtra and split the mountain clouds (8. 7. 23).

Soma is said to be the celestial strengthener of the mountain (9. 71. 4). And yet we are told that Agni has to protect the poet from old age, for it impairs the beauty of the body like a gathering cloud (1. 71. 10). Indra directed upwards the roots of the trees (10. 73. 5). The cloud is the tree whose fruit is the rain. " In the mid-air's expanse Agni has golden tresses ; he is a raging serpent like the rushing tempest ; he is refulgent and knows the morning " (1. 79. 1). Here Agni's three representative forms in the three regions are imaginatively depicted. The golden tresses symbolise the shining rays of the Sun who is sometimes spoken of as golden-haired. The serpent is the picture of lightning. Bhṛgu served Agni in the home of the waters (2. 4. 2). The cloud is the home for the lightning. The Maruts followed close like laughing lightning from the sky (5. 52. 6). Agni, the blessed sovereign of the earth and heaven, is brought out of the mountain (7. 6. 2). The mountain is the cloud and Agni is the lightning here. Rodasī, the consort of the Maruts, is often said to symbolise lightning. She has loose tresses and heroic spirit with the cloud like motion and refulgent aspect (1. 167. 5).

(xi) *Imagery of the cow*

The cow is the most important feature of Rgvedic imagery. It symbolises milk, skin, bowstring, strainer, plenty, virgin, Dawn and so many other things. Agni "plants his footsteps on the lofty ridges of the broad earth; his red flames lick the udder" (1. 146. 2). The udder symbolises the clouds of the sky. Maruts, who are "the restless shakers, drain the udders of the sky, and wandering round, fill the earth with milk" (1. 64. 5). Dawn comes like a milch cow and the flames of Agni rise up to the heavenly vault like birds flying up to a branch (5. 1. 1). The milch kine came out from the streaming udder (4. 22. 6). Rudra protects the secret of the cows (5. 3. 3). Usas is often the mother of the cows (5. 45. 6) and the cows are the rays. The heavenly udder is full of libations for Indra (10. 100. 11). It is the cloud in the sky. And yet the firmament itself has become the udder in their imagery. From the udder that is fastened over the earth, Indra poured milk into the cows and herbs (10. 73. 9).

Food spreads forth in the earthly udder (4. 7. 7), which is the altar. The poets wish that their bond be by the place of Agni's udder (4. 10. 8). Both the simple buyer and the clever seller milk out the udder (4. 24. 9). Both try to make out as much as they can out of the bargain; and the udder plausibly be said to symbolise the sacrifice. The poet wishes that arunapsavaḥ might carry the dawns to the soma juice (1. 49. 1). The arunapsavaḥ are, as Sāyana correctly observes, the purple cows symbolising the dark-red clouds." With her purple beams the dawn uncovers the night with great light glowing like a billowy sea of milk" (2. 34. 12). Again we read: "Laid like an arrow on the bow the hymn hath been loosed, like a young calf to the udder of its dame, as one who comes first with full stream she is milked; thus soma is impelled to this man's holy rites" (9. 69. 1). The song is let loose to Indra as a calf is sent to the udder of the cow. The same calf is also said to be an arrow and the cow the bow. Soma sat in the ancient gathering place milking the heavenly udder for dear meath (9. 107. 5). "The stones press the juice and drain the sap; they exhaust the udder's store to fill the beaker as the men purify oblations with their lips" (10. 76. 7). The store of the udder is the juice of the soma plant.

When Agni fled from his duties the gods discovered the place where he hid like a thief lurking in a dark cave with a stolen cow (1. 65. 1). Here the dark cave is the symbolic image of the abyssmal waters. Agni chooses and transmutes all the juices he swallows into sweet food just like the udder of the cow (1. 69. 3). All the things which the cow eats finally become milk.* Indra flung his deadly bolt against the mother of Vṛtra; the mother was above, the son was under; and Dānu lay like a cow beside her calf (1. 32. 9). Yet Indra has to rend the joints of Vṛtra like those of an ox (1. 61. 12). The poets request the Gods to set them free from affliction as they have loosed the cow that was bound by the foot (4. 12. 6). The cow is the symbol of the man who is in the bonds of sin.

Indra allowed the floods to go free like imprisoned cows (1. 61. 10). And yet it is said that Indra found the cows in the cave (1. 6. 5), and burst the mountain for them (1. 7. 3). He disclosed the cow stall for the Aṅgirasas (1. 51. 3). Brhaspati cleft the mountain and found the cattle; the heroes shouted in triumph with the cow (1. 62. 3). He cleaves the cow-stall and finds the light (2. 23. 3). And Uṣas is the cow rising with her calf, the sun (1. 160. 7). Agni and soma recovered the stolen cows (1. 93. 4). The conscious dawns went forth to meet the arrival of Indra, the master of the cows (3. 31. 4). To the cow's master the cows come inquiring, and the hymns eagerly come to soma (9. 97. 34). "One, moving not away, supports six burthens; the cows proceed to him, the True, the Highest. Near stand three mighty ones who travel swiftly; two are concealed from sight, and one is apparent" (3. 56. 2).

The teeming milch kine of dawn are hid in the mountain stable (4. 1. 13). The unripe cow advances bearing ripe milk; all the sweetness which is made for our enjoyment is gathered in the Heifer (3. 30. 14). Curiously enough we hear that the milch cow was established with the divine forms of the strong bull (3. 38. 7). The cow is the dawn, and the bull is the sun. The dawns are the bright red mother cows with the purple beams of light; the red cows have been yoked (1. 92. 1, 2).

The teeming milchkins of the dawn were hid in the mountain stable, in the firm and compact mountain (4. 1. 13, 15) Uṣas is the mother that threw open the stall of the cows (5. 45. 6 ; 7. 77. 2). She destroyed the strong forces and gave the cattle ; the cows were lowing as they greeted the morning (7. 75. 7). "She has sent out her sheen with beauteous oxen. As Savitar spreads up his arms, her cattle closely shut the darkness and give forth their lustre" (7. 79. 1, 2). The Aṅgirasas disclosed the cow stall ; and floods streamed for them as before (7. 90. 4). There are also the white cows that shine in the sphere of the Gods (5. 64. 7). These are the white clouds of the morning. Indra loosed the mountain in genuine wrath so that the Brahmā can easily find the cattle (10. 112. 8). The milch kine sprang forth from the streaming udder (4. 22. 6). Here the milch kine are the streams of rain and the udder is the cloud. Mitra and Varuṇa cause to flow all voices of the cow stall (5. 62. 2). The stall is the region of the rain in the atmosphere, the cow being the raincloud. Rudra guards the secret of the cows (5. 3. 3). It is the udder of the cloud. The milch cows hasten to their object and come with liquid sweetness (5. 43. 1). Here is a picture of rivers. "The movements of the gliding wind come hither ; like cows the springs are filled to over-flowing ; born in the station of the lofty heaven the bull has loudly bellowed in this udder" (7. 36. 3). The bull is Parjanya and the udder is the firmament. "The sun has spread his lustre ; hither came the cow's mother, conscious, from the stable, to streams that flow with biting waves to deserts. Heaven is established like a firmset pillar" (5. 45. 2). 'He snorts, and the cow lows as she clings to him that sheds the rain' (1. 164. 29). The cow is the cloud that clings to Parjanya. Again one poet observes, "there stood the milch kine with full-laden udders, and both are the paired mighty mothers of the wondrous Agni" (3. 1. 7). The mighty mothers are Heaven and Earth and the cows are the rain clouds. There are the milch kine that have no calves, but storm downwards yielding rich nectar (3. 55. 16). As Uṣas comes with all her beauty, the cows follow her path approaching with full udders (10. 172. 1). Indra milked the dry cows of the mighty master (4. 19. 7). The clouds are the cows that were not allowed to be milked by the master Vṛtra. The milch kine of the

Maruts are never dry (5. 55. 5). The Maruts have their own cows (1. 38. 2), probably the rain-clouds. The milch-cows bellow loud swimming in the waters (7. 42. 1). These are the clouds in the watery atmospheric region, and they have a bearing on the mixing up of the milk and water with the Soma juice. "For the brown coloured Soma, the cows have poured un-perishable oil and milk from the sublimest heights" (9. 31. 5). Oil and milk symbolise the sweet fertilizing rain. Soma approaches the mysterious place of the cow (9. 71. 5), which is the udder representing the cloud.

Trita found Agni on the forehead of the cow (10. 46. 3). The cow is the cloud, and Agni is the lightning here. Indra set within the cows the white milk, and milk and Soma in the udders (10. 49. 10). The cows that have milk and Soma are probably the clouds. Agni is the luminous calf that is not bound by any one (8. 61. 5). The calf is the lightning and the mother is the cloud. Agni is the strong and undecaying calf (10. 8. 2). From the head of the fair bird the cows draw milk; they wear his vesture and drink the water with their foot (1. 164. 7). The bird is the Sun and the cows that draw the milk are the solar rays. Indra dis-closed the wealth in the cows; he cleft the hill that formed a wide receptacle to enable the cows to come out (8. 45. 28, 30). The cows are the streams of water issuing from the rain, the hill being the cloud. The waters stayed like cows held by the robber under the control of Ahi (1. 32. 11). And yet many a time the cow is used to represent the *vasatvari* waters. Soma has impregnated the cows that long to meet their lord (9. 19. 5). The twenty one milch cows in the eastern heaven have poured the milk for soma (9. 70. 1). "Soma has discovered the hidden nature, the cows' concealed and most mysterious title" (9. 87. 3). Indra brought forth the cows from the Dragon to Trita (10. 48. 2). In all these places the picture of the waters is represented by the cow. The waters of the river also are said to be milk. The river *Sarasvatī* has milk (6. 61. 14).

Both the beautiful cows come together to their common youngling and spread forth in all directions (1. 146. 3). The cows are the heaven and the earth; the child is Agni. The heaven and the earth are the cows and spouses of *Viṣṇu* and they

yield nectar (3. 6. 4). The two cows, the mother and the daughter, meet and suck their nectar (3. 55. 12). These may be heaven and earth, but more probably night and day. These milchkine give their milk to law (4. 25. 10). These heaven and earth are cows that spread afar sending out their loud voices (8. 59. 4). Looking at these two mother cows, the steer, Soma, goes roaring on his way like the Maruts (9. 70. 6). Soma brought forth the red refulgent watery cows out of the rocky cave with his might; he mastered the stable full of cows and steeds (9. 108. 6). Brhaspati discovered the lowing cows in the cave, and drove them out of the mountain, like a bird's young one after the disclosure of the egg (10. 68. 7). Indra slew Vrtra like an axe that fells the tree, and dug out the rivers. He cleft the mountains like a new made pitcher and brought forth the cows with his friends, the Maruts (10. 89. 7).

The cow further symbolises the earth, the cow's place being the altar (1. 158. 2). The priest and the sage Sun have milked every day for bright milk the coloured cow and the prolific bull (1. 160. 3). The Sun has milked the dew from his mother earth, and father heaven. Brhaspati has brought the cow of every colour (1. 161. 6). This is the fruitful earth restored to youth by the gods of the seasons. The poet saw the form of the sacrificial horse eager to win food for it at the station of the cow (1. 163. 7). "The hymns shone brightly from the seat of worship; the bull, the child of Heifer, came to the cow, bellowing arose and has pervaded the regions. Indra made the cow, and he became the ruler of heaven (10. 111. 2, 3). The bull is Indra, his mother Aditi being treated as a cow. He came to the milk that is to be mixed with the Soma juice: and finally, he made the cow, the earth. The mother was yoked to the carpole of the boon cow; the calf lowed, and looked upon the mother; the cow wears all the shapes in three directions (1. 164. 9). Earth is the mother and the cow that supplies milk for the sacrifices, while the cloud is the calf here. The poet requests Indra to allow the cow to pour with inexhaustible udder a thousand streams and milk (10. 133. 7). Here it is the heaven that is pictured as a cow. The great eternal was born in the home of the cow (3. 55. 1). This is the mystical land and the cosmic cow of the firmament whence comes the sun.

The cows of the clouds have poured forth imperishable milk for Soma (9. 31. 5). The Soma juice is milked from the stems and clothed in a raiment of milk (8. 1. 17). The cows have sung in joy to Soma as a woman to her lover (9. 32. 5). Soma goes in a stream seeking the cows (9. 98. 3). It is almost customary for the poets to speak of the cow mixing with Soma, instead of their milk. "Soma wanders and comes near the cow's mysterious place, even the place which his inventions have produced (9. 71. 5). This mysterious place is the udder, the cow evidently symbolising the heaven: and the udder is the cloud. The mother heaven stands loosed and her youngling Agni is feeding. She has lowed loudly licking another's off-spring, the Sun. And the poet asks, "in what world has the cow laid down her udder?" (10. 27. 14). Here the cow is the heaven, her udder being the rain cloud. And yet the sun too is a cow. Indra is requested to "make visible the cow's beloved home to the bright golden Sun" (10. 96. 11). The cow is the Sun, his home being the universe which is illumined by him with the aid of Indra. The Sun is the calf of the earth (3. 55. 14). The sages have woven the seven threads up above the yearling calf to form a web (1. 164. 5). The calf is the Sun and the threads are the metres. The cow rises bearing her calf on foot (1. 164. 17). Uṣas is the cow, the young rising sun being her calf. The poet postulates a riddle, that "every one knows Uṣas to be the mother of the Sun, but who is the father of this calf?" (1. 164. 18).

The cloud is the udder of the sky and the milk is the rain coming from it (1. 64. 5. 7). The Maruts bring milk in abundance to the worshipper (1. 166. 3). "When Varuṇa wishes milk he moistens the sky, the land and the earth to her foundation. Then the mountains clothe them at once in the raincloud; and the heroes loose them" (5. 85. 4). The mountains picture the clouds, and the heroes the Maruts. And yet the Maruts are the dappled cows that pour from the great cask, the watery cloud, three lakes of meath for Indra (8. 7. 10). As they march, the cows lick one by one each other's head (8. 20. 21), and the cows are the Maruts that rush forth speedily pervading the regions. Thus the rain often becomes milk in the imagery of the vedic poets. The pivot of the chariot in the interior is balmed with milk, and the kind-

red of the cows will help the poet (8. 20. 8). The kindred are the Maruts, the cow being Pr̥snī. As Agni rests on the seat of Rta, the cow alone proceeds to him on her way (3. 7. 2). The cow is the goddess of speech or prayer that approaches Agni. With fine discernment, Viśvāmitra's thought has discovered the cow that wanders free without a herdsman (3. 57. 1). They comprehended the earliest name of the milch cow and found the twenty one noble forms of the Mother. (4. 1. 16). The numbers refer to metres and the cow is speech. Varuṇa spoke to the poet the twenty one names borne by the cow (7. 87. 4) which evidently refer to speech. This speech, Vāk, is the cow (Dhenu) (8. 89. 11). Soma is the bull that bellows ; the cows, the goddesses, approach the God's own resting place (9. 69. 4). The song is both the cow and a goddess, being divine. Milk streams forth at the central point of worship when all the assembled lifted up their voices (8. 12. 32). The song sung for Agni is a milch-cow that yields what all the poet wills (2. 2. 9). The poet approaches with reverence Night and Morning like a cow that is good to be milked (1. 186. 4). The cow is the poet and the milk is the song. Seven sisters sing in unison and in them are treasured the names of the seven cows (1. 164. 3). The seven sisters may be the seven rays of light or the seven priests, while the seven cows are the seven tones of music or the seven metres.

(xii) *Imagery from Nature and Love*

Nature has not left the imagery of the Rgvedic poets. They lived in nature and sang of the beauty of the seen and un-seen aspects of nature. But the Vedic account of nature differs from that of the classical literature, in that the former is not stereotyped. It is closely intertwined with the main theme and adds grace and dignity. The poets never took nature as it is to imitate her. But they gave an entirely figurative clothing to it. Thus they speak of the stars and the Sun as bulls and birds. The Moon is a lover and the stars and moonlight are his beloveds. Even the sun is a star. The year is a grand wheel and the seasons and months are the spokes. The seasons are twins, and the days and nights are children, Heaven and Earth are the grand parents

and painters. Day and night are sisters and lovers. The poets drag in the imagery taken from women to this imagery, and bequeath a rich poetic heritage.

Agni, the friend of the house, has decked the vault of heaven with Stars (1. 68. 5). The Maruts made a display of their glittering ornaments, like the heaven with stars (1. 87. 1). The stars are the bulls that stand on high in the midst of the mighty heaven (1. 105. 10). In the dwelling place of Viṣṇu there are many horned and nimble oxen. Here is an evident reference to the twinkling rays of the stars. The stars are the birds of beauteous pinion. The sun is the star of all the gods and is established to fill the heaven and earth with food (6. 67. 6). The sun draws up the water which again descends to the earth and fertilises it. The refulgent star, sun, pours down his beams along with the dawns (7. 81. 2). He is the star of old (7. 86. 1), the ancient star that wanders on for ever (10. 88. 13). He is the star of heaven (10. 111. 7). "To fair goals travel two, unlike in semblance; each in succession nourishes an infant; one bears a Godlike babe of golden colour; bright and fair shining is he with the other" (1. 95. 1). The two are day and night, their children being the sun and the moon. The ancient fathers were lifted up on high as heads of heaven (9. 69. 8); and these are moon and stars. With beautiful wings in heaven the moon runs in the waters (1. 105. 1). The waters are those of the atmospheric region, or they may possibly refer to the reflection of the moon in the waters of the well where Trita lay. The moon has his place in the lap of the stars (10. 85. 2). He is the youthful lord of the night living with all the celestial dames (10. 92. 14).

Varuṇa knows the twelve moons with their offspring and the moon of later birth (1. 25. 8). The moons are the months, the last being the thirteenth or intercalary lunar month. The offspring of the moons are the days. The year is the wheel formed with twelve spokes; it revolves round the heaven and is not weakened even by the length of time. To these are joined in pairs the seven hundred and twenty sons, which are evidently the days and nights (1. 164. 11).

The year is the five footed father of twelve forms, and 'he mounted on the seven-wheeled and six-spoked car (1. 164. 12). All these refer to the seasons. It is a five spoked wheel, whose axle is not heated, whose nave is unbroken (1. 164. 13). Ten draw this wheel being yoked to the farstretching car-pole (1. 164. 14); these are the regions of space. And again it is said that:—"The six seasons are the six twins and the thirteenth intercalary month is the single born seventh" (1. 164. 15).

When the gods begin to drink Soma, he swells out again; it is he who shapes the years (10. 85. 5). In the night Agni is the head of the world (10. 88. 6), and the head is the moon. The effulgent Agni was placed in vault (hvare), like the growing moon in the aery regions: and there he is the bird (2. 2. 4). "Forth from the ocean sprang the wave of sweetness; together with the stalk it turned to nectar" (4. 58. 1).

The moon is also a wolf. The stars who are the birds of beautiful pinion drive the wolf away as he crosses the restless floods (1. 105. 11). Rākā has a never breaking needle with which she sews her work (2. 32. 4). The honey-bearing car of the Āsvins is followed by the beloved of the Moon (1. 34. 2), and she is only the moon-light, often treated as Sūryā.

Indra holds Soma in close embraces when poured within the jars and on the purifying sieve (9. 12. 5). Soma drops on the filtering cloth and then mounts up to the sky with Sūryā. Being purified, this tawny steer has flowed to Indra in the firmament (9. 27. 5, 6). "The black drop sank in Anśumatī's bosom, advancing with ten thousands round about it. On the eloping bank of the river, Anśumatī, in the distance, the black drop was moving like a black cloud that sank into water. Then the drop in the bosom of the river assumed its proper body with splendid light" (8. 85. 13-15). The black drop was the darkened moon, and Anśumatī is some stream in the atmospheric regions where the moon dīms to reconquer his lost light.

The Sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (7. 63. 1; 10. 37. 1 etc.). The dawn bears the God's own eye, Sun (7. 77. 3). Soma is the single eye (9. 9. 4). Agni is the eye and the protector of the mighty order (10. 6. 5). The sun and the moon are yet the eyes of Agni (10. 79. 2).

• “The wise in spirit have created language like men cleansing corn-flour in a sieve” (10. 71. 2). “To one who has understood her, Vāk shows her beauty like a beloved well-dressed lady to her lord” (10. 71. 4). Speech yields neither fruit nor blossom to the ignorant (10. 71. 5). The ignorant one who has no knowledge of Vāk looks like a tank that reaches the mouth or the shoulder, while the other is like a pond fit to bathe in (10. 71. 7). The ignorant capture Vāk sinfully and spin their threads like female weavers (10. 71. 9).

Agni comes spreading his web with mightiest steeds and rending the black-hued mantle; the solar rays shine tremulous and sink the darkness like a hide in the waters (4. 13. 4). The march of Agni is like that of a king followed by his retinue. He spreads his vigour like a net and shoots his sharp arrows. His tongue spreads forth the winged flames, the first flames being the spies (4. 4. 1-4). Agni spreads through the dry wood being urged by the wind. He is armed with his tongues and moves with a mighty roar. His path is black, and changeless, with glittering waves. He rushes on to the trees eagerly like a bull (1. 58. 4). Like a bull among the cows Agni triumphantly moves through the woods with teeth of flames (1. 58. 5). Agni is requested to smite down the sinner like a tree with a lightning flash (6. 8. 5). Another poet exhorts: “let us cling to Pūsan’s favouring love as a tree’s extended bow” (6. 57. 5). Indra is a tree having ripe fruits (4. 20. 5). Agni eats the woods as a king eats the rich; and when he spreads through the forest he shears the hair of the earth (1. 65. 4). He darts forth his tongue among the bushes like a harnessed steed who shakes his flowing tail. He gave his colour to those who love him. Like a thirsty one he lights up the forests: and like water down the slopes he roars. As he shines in burning beauty, it is as if heaven smiles through vapour. He roams freely like an ox without a herdsman. It seems as if he prepared the ground for tillage by burning up the bushes (2. 4. 4-7). The earth nurtures her child Agni with sweet affection (10. 4. 3). The cloud is the woman that brought forth the infant, lightning (10. 40. 9). The bull bellowed engendering the germ of the plants, the infant (7. 101. 1). The bull is Parja-

nya, the infant being the lightning. Agni is often said to be the child of many objects: heaven and earth, the two sticks, stones and the like (10. 5. 3 etc.). Agni is the infant that devours his parents at his birth (10. 79. 4). The seers decorated Soma, the child of heaven (9. 33. 5). Night is the mother and the young sun is her infant. The mother carries on her breast the noble infant (10. 27. 16), and yet night is the child of heaven (10. 127. 8). Usas is the daughter of heaven. The sun is her child and each kisses the other (10. 114. 4).

The imperial lady of the world, Usas (7. 75. 4), is also the footless maid that precedes the footed creatures. The unborn babe, the Sun, supports the burden of the world (1. 152. 3). She is also the mighty lady of sweet strains (8. 9. 17; 7. 81. 6). Yet the sun is the lover of the maidens, the dawns (1. 52. 1, 4). The parents of Yama and Yami are the Gandharva in the floods and the damsel in the waters (10. 10. 4), who are evidently Vivasvān and Saranyū; these are only the sun and the dawn. Agni shines "overcoming the glimmering black with beauty, bringing forth the maiden who is the daughter of the great father, and holding aloft the radiant light of the sun. He is the blessed one that comes attending the blessed dame; and he is the lover that follows his sister, dawn" (10. 3. 2, 3). The red dawn comes riding on her noble car with all her gay-coloured and mighty beams (4. 14. 3). The stars are the celestial dames (10. 92. 14). "When night was turning to the grey of morning, the maiden chose the splendour of the Ásvins" (7. 69. 4). The maiden is the daughter of the sun. Sarasvān grew among women, a strong young steer amid the holy ladies (7. 95. 3). The soul of the dead is a strong steed and the poet asks him to go to the yearning maidens with vigour (10. 56. 3), and these are the dawns; for the dead are supposed to be in union with the rays of light, stars and other phenomena. None can repel the strength of the sun, just as a young maid never repels her lover (10. 178. 3).

The Maruts stretch their thighs apart like women at the time of delivery. And yet they are the bridegrooms that have a lovely spouse (5. 61. 3, 4). She is Rodasi who clings to them close in seclusion, like a man's wife and like a spear. The

Maruts cling to this young maid as if she were a joint possession. She has loose tresses and heroic spirit, cloud-like motion and refulgent aspect (1. 167. 3-5).

Agni cares for each one like a lady at home, shining like a car amidst the people. He strikes with terror like a dart and like an archer's arrow (1. 66. 3, 4). Agni is respected as an active lady (1. 79. 1), for he has a vital role in the domestic affairs. He lives on earth like a blameless lady dear to her lord (1. 73. 3); and yet he is loved like a guest who lies in a pleasant home (1. 73. 1). But finally he is the maiden's lover and the matron's lord (1. 66. 4). The home of Agni is in the seven auspicious mothers, and the ten maidens brought him forth (1. 141. 2). As the lord of the house, Agni kisses the youthful maiden (10. 4. 4). The maiden is the oblation or earth. The plants are the mothers that come to Agni bearing food (10. 1. 4). Yet the plants lead one to success like mares in a race (10. 97. 3). The holy fig tree is the home of the plants, while the Parṇa is their mansion (10. 97. 5). They prepare the altar for the arrival of Agni as a beloved wife dresses herself for her husband (4. 3. 2). Agni is bright like a spear's tooth, with powerful mouth, and like a well sharpened axe (4. 6. 8). Agni neighs like a horse and is kindled by the women (3. 26. 3). These are only the fingers, that variously figure as sisters and damsels. Agni is related to the sister floods as a brother (1. 65. 4). He is a bull making the sisters conceive at his glad carouse (10. 21. 8). The sisters are the plants which Agni makes fruitful by rain. And yet his flames are seven red sisters (10. 5. 5).

The rivers that surround Apām napāt are the youthful maidens that deck themselves and wait on the youthful god. Three rivers as dames offer food to him and he sucks their milk (2. 35. 4, 5). Indra allowed " the young maids skilled in law, un-wedded, like fountains bubbling, flow forth streaming onward " (4. 19. 7). The maids are the rivers that know and follow their regular course. These rivers are the seven maiden sisters (1. 191. 14). The contending vipāś and śutudrī, that are mares, cows and bulls (3. 33. 1, 13) are also sisters (3. 33. 9). When Indra gave freedom to the imprisoned ones, the sisters praised him (4. 22. 7). The spotless sisters exalt him and instigate him in his on-ward

march (10. 120. 9). The seven sisters are the mothers that stand around the noble and newly-born babe (9. 85. 36). The babe is Soma, and the sisters are the rivers that provide water for the preparation of Soma. The seven mothers are said to have taught Soma even at his birth (9. 102. 4). The mother floods are cleaners of the holy oil (10. 17. 10). The skilful ones deck Soma, while he looks on both races watching over the lovely ways of nectar, intending to create in the midmost mothers (9. 70. 4). The midmost mothers are the clouds. "Along their paths the mothers go, sisters of priestly ministrants, mingling their sweetness with the milk" (1. 23. 16). The mothers are the waters that are the allies of the priests who are regarded as sisters. The sisters wait on the haughty lord, Indra, like wives and matrons (1. 62. 10). The sisters of one home have urged Agni forward, loving the beloved as wives their husband (1. 71. 1). They are the ten youthful and vigilant daughters of Tvastar that produced the infant, Agni, who is carried to the various directions (1. 95. 2). The ten unwedded and united sisters grasp together the newly born babe, Agni (3. 29. 13). The sisters recognise the germ within the bull with reverence to lend vigour to it; the cows come lowing to the infant (3. 57. 3). The sisters are the fingers, the bull or the infant is Agni, and the cows are the "plants which spring up in the vegetable world, adorned with all its various aspects, as cows go eagerly to their calves." The healing virtues of the plants stream forth like cattle from the stall (10. 97. 8). And yet they are the rivers that fly with wings (10. 97. 9). "They pass over all the fences like a thief into the fold (10. 97. 10).

Heaven and Earth are partners now parted, having distant limits and one firm place; these young ones are like sisters and speak to each other names that are applicable to both (3. 54. 7). The Soma is the beloved milk of this pair of sisters (5. 19. 4). The great twins, Heaven and Earth, are also mothers (10. 35. 3) of ever-lasting law and young ones (10. 59. 8). These are the Godly far-reaching pair (7. 35. 3). Soma milks out this mighty pair as if they were cows (9. 18. 5). And yet Soma fills with milk this eternal and evergrowing pair (9. 68. 3). They are twins and yet parents (9. 68. 4, 5). From this pair they milked oil and water (10. 12. 3).

Night and day are twins shining in dark and bright colours ; these dark and red cows are sisters. And yet these are two cows, mother and daughter (3. 55. 11, 12). They are the sisters that come to our dwelling (1. 178. 2). The Dawn is the fair and bright lady with the white clouds as her white offspring; the dark one, night, has resigned her dwelling to the dawn. Both the heavens, day and night, change their colours and march forwards without quarrelling. The path of the sisters is unending (1. 113. 4.). One sister quits her place for the elder, sister, day ; she looks on her and departs. The elder sister decks her beauty with rays like women gathering at the festive place (1. 124. 8). Again all the dawns are sisters (1. 124. 9; 9. 37. 4). Usas is the sister that conveys her twin brothers, the Ásvins (1. 180. 2). She is the sister that stands by the earth (2. 5. 6). Pavamāna longs with passion for the lofty pair, night and dawn, that are well formed like beautiful maidens (9. 5. 6). Holy songs kiss the child Soma as he comes to the consecrated place like the woman's consort (9. 86. 31, 32). Soma joys and delights in the waters as a young man with fair and pleasant damsels. The waters are the maidens that bow before the youthful gallant who comes to them yearning with love (10. 30, 5, 6). Soma flows to the waters as a child crying to his mothers ; and he hastens to the beaker with milk like a youth to the damsel (9. 93. 2). The dames have sung welcome to Soma just as a maiden greets her lover (9. 56. 3). The sisters send down to the ridges of the sieve the green, the far beholding and the beloved Soma (9. 26. 5). The steer Soma rushes forth bellowing to the wooden vats directed by the ten sisters (9. 28. 4). The ten sisters have sent him forward from both the arms like a chariot (9. 71. 5). After Soma passes through the filter and disports himself in the wood, ten dames cleanse him as if he were a vigorous horse (9. 6. 5). Ten sisters pour out the rain and adorn the seer ; the golden child of the sun has run hither and reached the vat like a vigorous horse (9. 93. 1). These fingers are also the virgins that deck Soma over fresh streams to drive him to the sieve when he bathes in the wood (9. 66. 9). The pressing stones danced with the sisters, being embraced by them, making the earth echo their ringing sounds (10. 94. 4).

(xiii) *The Lotus*

The lotus, which plays a prominent part later on, has not yet acquired that place. But like the swan, the lotus also figures as a symbol of beauty and loveliness in a beautiful universe. The unborn babe moves inside the womb like the pool of lotuses set active on every side by the wind (5. 78. 7). The germ is to be crowned with lotuses (10. 184. 2). Here is a bold stretch of imagination conceiving a possible picture as real. Like one who cries for lotus-stems, Sarasvatī has burst with her strong waves the ridges of the hills (6. 61. 2). Here the idea is not completely one of loveliness. There is something ironical, which may hold good against the classical literature. Then, bright oxen come to the poet like upstanding lotus-stalks from a lake (8. 1. 33). The home of the donor is like a lake with lotus blossoms (10. 107. 10). Lakes with lotuses are always longed for (10. 142. 8). Here is a suggestion of loveliness and plenty. Atharvan brought forth Agni from the lotus flower (6. 16. 13). This is a pure metaphor. The sky is imagined to be a lotus, whence Agni was brought. In heavenly fervour all the Gods placed Vasiṣṭha on a lotus blossom like a fallen drop (7. 33. 11).

(xiv) *The Nature of Imagery*

This imagery of R̥gveda reveals the rich poetic heritage of the vedic seers. Poetry to the vedic seers was not a thing of pure-imagination alone. The poet should not go on singing behind the clouds giving to "airy nothing a local habitation and a name".¹ Poetry is made up of the same stuff as that which constitutes this world. Every individual constructs for himself his own universe in intellectual terms. Knowledge, says Bosanquet, is mental construction of Reality.² And Imagination is free thinking, which enables the poet to transform this spatio-temporal universe into an all-inclusive Reality that is beyond time and space. Consequently this poetic universe becomes the source of the empirical universe.³ As Bharata would have it,

¹ Shakespeare: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 4. 1.

² *Essentials of Logic*.

³ See F. H. Bradley: *Essays on Truth and Reality*; and B. Bosanquet: *Meeting of extremes in contemporary Philosophy*.

“Na taj jñānam na tac chilpam
na sã vidyā na sã kalā
na sa yogo na tat karma
nātye 'smin yan na dr̥syate”.

Our empirical world springs from the poetic Universe. Hence our world is latent in the Aesthetic universe. The poet has to make this explicit. This he achieves with the help of imagery. He takes the facts of daily life and presents to us the inner significance of these facts. And the aim of a poet is always to select the common place, to transmute it, and to reveal its inner spiritual character. This is the function of Imagery in general, and of the R̥gvedic Imagery in particular.

The R̥gvedic Imagery, as the foregoing reveals, embraced all aspects of human life. Nothing has been ignored. The images taken from the martial life and the references to the flags clearly prove that the R̥gveda does not represent a pastoral civilization. It reveals the urban element and includes the whole of life. The images drawn from the professions speak of a more or less settled and advanced culture. The images from gold cannot be literally interpreted.

Reviewing the other sources of the images, one will be forced to admit that the Poetic outlook of the R̥gvedic Age was highly advanced. Starting from the Beauty of Nature, the seers proceeded to the conception of the Beauty of the Human Form. Then they were led to a fine understanding of the Beauty of the Female Form only to realise at the end that Thought is Beautiful. There are no conventional and sentimental images. The images were freely used and sometimes a single image comes to represent two or three ideas. In so doing the image fulfills the duties of colour and sound, light and shade.

Bergaigne and others might accuse these images as bizarre; but an image cannot be an image unless it is a poetic substitute for a complex idea. When the R̥gvedic poet desired to observe naked simplicity in his poetic utterances, he succeeded. But when he had to give expression to his experiences of Beauty, he

could not help taking the aid of Imagery. Thereby in the hands of the Rgvedic seers Imagery becomes a sensuous representation of the Beautiful. The Beautiful, being always allusive, non-temporal and non-spatial, cannot be made finite. It is imagery that can make it appear finite by presenting it through a sensuous garb. As Hegel said, Beauty is the Idea appearing itself sensuously.¹ Kālidāsa, therefore, called Beauty or Fine Art "Lalita vijñāna".² The Rgvedic Imagery serves the same function of presenting Beauty sensuously. At the same time it is suggestive. The Image in Rgveda transports us to the land of Beauty. This Aesthetic experience alone can make an Individual, in the words of Plato, "the spectator of all time and of all existence"; or in the words of Rgveda,

"Kaviḥ kāvyenāsi viśvavit"

¹ Philosophie des Religion, 2. 8; Aesthetik: Einleitung.

² Mālavikāgnimitram, 2. 13.

VIEWS OF JAIMINI AND ŚABARA ON LANGUAGE

By

G. V. DEVASTHALI

Synopsis

1 What have Jaimini and Śabara done in the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* and the *Bhāṣya* thereon? 2 Śabara's warning to interpreters. 3 *Vaidika* and *laukika śabdā*s are identical according to Jaimini. 4 So are the *vākyas*. 5 The *pārva pakṣa* view on this point. 6 Rejoinder and the *Siddhānta*. 7 Jaimini and Śabara on *vākyārtha*. 8 Their view summed up. 9. The same illustrated by referring to SB. on MS. I. 4. 10. 10 Illustration from SB. and MS. 11 An objection against this view of *lokavedayoh śabdaikyam arthaikyam ca* stated and refuted. 12 Another objection stated and refuted. 13 Some noteworthy points of distinction between the language of the Veda and that of common parlance. 14 A brief statement of the views of Jaimini and Śabara regarding the language of the Scriptural text.

1 The main aim of Jaimini in writing his *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* (MS.) was to set forth in a systematic form the idea of *dharma* as revealed by the oceanic scriptural texts when properly interpreted. He has, therefore, himself gone through the laborious task of interpreting all the available texts and set down in clear and precise terms the results of his investigations. It was, however, inevitable that he should also give us glimpses of what principles he has followed in interpreting the texts before him and how he has arrived at the results he has stated. Śabara also has followed Jaimini in what he has done. He does not rest satisfied with merely explaining the *sūtrārtha*, but goes a step further and fully discusses and illustrates not only those principles which have been actually enunciated by Jaimini, but also those which have been merely suggested by him. Not few again are the principles which, though obviously used by Jaimini, have been enunciated and illustrated for the first time by Śabara only.

2 While executing this task of interpreting the scriptural texts, therefore, it was but natural that these great propounders of the *Mīmāṃsā śāstra* should have offered their own views on the language of the Scriptures in general in comparison with that of the common parlance. Jaimini often refers to this latter in expressions like *lokavat* and *yatha loke* ¹ which in almost every place is expounded by Śābara by presenting analogous cases from the language of common parlance. Śābara even holds, in several places in his *Bhāṣya*, pretty long discussions regarding similarity or otherwise between the *laukika vākya* and *vaidika vākya* or between the language of the scriptures and that of common parlance. In fact he has begun his *Bhāṣya* with a remark ² on the language, of course, of the *sūtras*. But we find that what he has said about of the language of the *sūtras* also holds good in the case of the language of the Scriptural texts. Thus he avers that words in the *sūtras* must, as far as possible, be understood to convey the same sense as they are used to convey in common parlance. He even warns the reader or the interpreter against any attempt to read additional thoughts in the original *sūtras* by supplying words from his own pocket, or by attaching imaginary or technical significance to their words. For, he adds, this would involve a laborious process. The *sūtras* are meant to expound and systematize the teaching of the Scriptural texts. But before they can achieve their aim, they themselves will have to be explained if it is assumed that they are couched in words which are different from those of common parlance and different significations. But this *gaurava* can be avoided by holding that the words of the *sūtras* are identical with those that we meet with in common parlance, and as such need no explanation for themselves.

[N. B. :— This article is extracted from my thesis approved for Ph. D. by the Bombay University. References are to the *Ānandāśrama* edition of the *Śābara-bhāṣya* (Poona, 1929-34)].

MS. — *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*. SB. — *Śābara-bhāṣya*.

¹ Cf. MS. I. 2. 20; 29; II. 1. 12; IV. 1. 6; VI. 8. 26; X. 2. 23; 3. 44; 51; 6. 8; 7. 66; XI. 26; 60.

² लोके येष्वर्थेषु प्रसिद्धानि वदन्ति तानि सति संभवे तदर्थान्येव सूत्रेष्वित्यवगन्तव्यम् । नाध्याहारादिभिरेषां परिकल्पनीयोऽर्थः परिभाषितव्यो वा । एवं वेदवाक्यान्त्येवैभिर्वाक्यायान्ते, इतरथा वेदवाक्यानि व्याख्येयानि स्वपदार्थाश्च व्याख्येया इति प्रयत्नगौरवं प्रसज्येत । [SB. on MS. I. 1.1, p. 1, f.]

3 This very view is set forth by Jaimini with reference to the language of the scriptural texts at MS. I. 3. 30¹ where in no ambiguous terms he states that the sense conveyed by the words of the scriptural texts is in no way different from the one that attaches to them when they are used in common parlance. This, he says, is proved by the fact that the texts lay down injunctions regarding the performance of certain acts. Now if these injunctions are to be obeyed they must first be understood. But how can they be comprehended by the people for whom they are meant if they are not couched in a language they can understand? This shows that the injunctions must be couched in the words of common parlance which in other words means that the words of the scriptural texts must be the same as those of common parlance and also that they must convey the same sense wherever they are used. A stronger ground for such an assumption is supplied by Jaimini in the expression *avibhāṭ*. They must be accepted as being not different from one another because no difference is noticeable between the two. Thus it is clear that the words in the scriptural text must be accepted as being the same as those in common parlance, and also as conveying the same significations wherever they are used.

4 And what has been asserted about the words is also true of sentences. Jaimini has clearly stated that the signification of the sentence in the *Veda* is in no way different from that of ordinary parlance.² He, therefore, would appear to recognize no distinction between the language of the *Veda* on the one hand and that of common parlance on the other, both as regards the word as well as the sentence, and also as regards the meanings they convey. This by implication means that the Vedic texts are to be interpreted on the same principles on which we interpret sentences in our common parlance.

5 It is here interesting to note how the *parva-pakṣin* tries to show that the words in the scriptural texts must be accepted as being different from the words in the common parlance and also as conveying senses which are widely different from what they do

¹ प्रयोगचोदनाभावादर्थैकत्वमविभागात् ।

² अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः । [MS. I. 2-32].

there. The very difference of nomenclature, he argues, shows this difference. The one we call by the name *Vaidika*; while to the other we give the name of *laukika*. Does this not prove that they are different from each other? Again there is the difference of formation which is only too obvious to deny. And if thus the *Vaidika śabda* is different from the *laukika śabda* does it not naturally follow that there must be a corresponding difference between their *arthis* also? But if this does not suffice, there are several scriptural texts which will clearly and conclusively prove that the sense of the words in the *Veda* is quite different from the one that is conveyed by them in common parlance. Take the texts like, 'Uttanā vai devagavā vahanti' or 'Etad vai darvyaṁ madhu yad ghr̥tam'. The former tells us that in the *Veda* those that move on their backs are called bulls; while the latter shows that the honey in the *Veda* is ghee. But we never understand these words as conveying such meanings in our common parlance. This, therefore, is a conclusive evidence to prove that the significations of the words in the *Veda* are different from those in the common parlance.¹

6 All this argumentation on the part of the *parva-pakṣin* can, however, be easily shown to be fallacious. Difference of nomenclature by itself does not prove the difference of the thing named. For we do find one and the same thing also receiving different names with reference to the different characteristics it might possess.² It is the presence of such peculiar characteristics in the

1 तत्रान्ये लौकिकाः शब्दा अन्ये वैदिका अन्ये चैषामर्थः इति शूनः । कुतः । व्यपदेशभेदाद् रूपभेदाच्च । इमे लौकिका इमे वैदिका इति व्यपदेशभेदः । 'अभिर्वृत्राणि जह्वन्त' इत्यन्यदिद् रूपं लौकिकादभिः शब्दात् । शब्दान्यत्वाच्च न त एवार्थाः । अपि च समामभेन्ति 'उत्ताना वै देवगवा वहन्ति' इति । ये देवानां गावस्त उत्ताना वहन्तीत्युक्ते गम्यन्त एव ये उत्ताना वहन्ति ते गोशब्देनोच्यन्त इति । तस्मादन्यो वैदिकगोशब्दस्यार्थः । तथा ... 'एतद्वै दैव्यं मधु यद् घृतम्' इति वेदे घृते मधुशब्दः तस्मादमीषामन्येऽर्थाः । [SB. on MS. I. 3. 30. p. 290 f.]

2 This argument is put forth by Jaimini and Sabara while discussing the question whether *niṣṭā*s are different from *yajñ*ṣi. The *parva-pakṣin* takes his stand on the difference of nomenclature (व्यपदेशभेद) and argues that they are different. But Jaimini refutes the argument by saying 'गुणार्थो व्यपदेशः' (MS. II. 1. 43) which Sabara explains in the following words:—
अथ यदुक्तं व्यपदेशभेद इति स चेकत्वेऽपि गुणतो भवति । यथा इतो ब्राह्मणा भोज्यन्ताम् इतः परिब्राजका इति । एवमुच्चैस्त्वेन गुणेन साम्येव यजुषि व्यपदिश्यन्ते निगदा इति । (p. 442).

language that is responsible for the difference of nomenclature. Difference of characteristics or difference of formation is merely dialectical and does not warrant the assumption of an essential difference of the language itself. And the very fact that we do perceive the absence of difference between the two is enough to show that there is no difference of language.¹ As regards the texts quoted by the *parva-pakṣin* it must be pointed out that the construction put on them by him is inadmissible. Of the two parts in the first text the latter is, according to him, the *uddēṣya* and the former is, of course the *vidheya*. But by its very nature we know that a *vidheya* must be something unknown; and such a matter is to be found not in the former but in the latter part of the text, which must, therefore, be accepted as the *vidheya*. But if that is accepted as the *vidheya*, then the former cannot be accepted as being so at the same time; for such an assumption would mean courting the charge of syntactical split. Thus it is clear that in the text under consideration the former part is the *uddēṣya* while the latter is only the *vidheya*, and not vice versa as the *parva-pakṣa* would have it. But the more serious objection against the view of the *parva-pakṣin* is that it involves *anarthakya*. If the *Vaidika śabdā* are totally different from the *laukika śabdā* and convey totally different significations how can you understand the significations of the words *ye, uttānāḥ* and *vabanti* which together according to you give the *lakṣaṇa* of *go*? And if the sense of these words is not comprehended, how can you understand the character of the bull which also is not known? And if the *go-lakṣaṇa* that, according to you, is the main signification of the text is not understood, does it not follow that the text is rendered nugatory? All this can be avoided by rejecting the interpretation of the *parva-pakṣin* and taking the latter part of the text as the *vidheya*. But, it may be argued, even so the sentence remains as useless as before, since it conveys no sound sense. This objection, however, can be met with the rejoinder that it can be made to serve a useful purpose by construing it as being eulogistic. In the same manner it is not difficult to show how in the second text also the *parva-pakṣin* has

¹ न तेषामेषां च विभागमुपलभामहे । अत एवैकशब्दत्वम् । तांस्तथावधानव-
गच्छामः । अतो नान्यत्वं च वदामः । [SB. on MS. I. 3. 30. p. 291 f].

hit upon a wrong construction and how there also the *madhvatva* of *ghṛta* is to be understood as being only eulogistic and not literal.¹

7 Regarding the *vākyaārtha* also both Jaimini as well as Śabara declare that there is no difference in the meaning of the words forming the sentences used in the *Veda* and those in common parlance ; and it is but proper that it should be conveyed in the former in exactly the same way as in the latter.²

8 Thus the main view that is held by Jaimini and Śabara regarding the language of the Scriptures may be summed up by saying that it is quite on a par with the language of common parlance not only as regards the words and their significations, but also as regards the *vākya* and the *vākyaārtha*.

9 This very principle again has been very explicitly stated by Śabara both positively as well as negatively by declaring that the significations of words are to be determined by common usage and not by Vedic usage. And the truth of this remark he has amply illustrated in his commentary on MS. I. 4. 10. The question there is whether *barhiḥ* and other words are to be accepted as *samskāraśabdās* on the strength of Vedic usage or as *jātiśabdās* on the strength of *laukika* usage.³ Śabara declares himself in favour of the

¹ यच्चोक्तं य उक्तानां बहन्ति ते देवगवाः, यद् घृतं तन्मधु इति । नास्ति वचनं यदुक्तानां बहतां गोत्वं श्रूयात् । ये गावस्त उक्तानां बहन्तीत्येवं स्यात् । यदि चानेन वचनेन गोत्वं विधीयते, उक्तानां बहन्तीत्यनुवादः स्यात् । न चोक्तानां बहन्तः प्रसिद्धाः केचित् । ते नियोगतो विधातव्याः । तेषु विधीयमानेषु न शक्यं गोत्वं विधातुम् । भिद्यते हि तथा वाक्यम् । यदि चान्ये वैदिकास्तत उक्ताणादीनामर्थो न गम्येत । तत्र नतरां शक्ये-ताविज्ञातलक्षणं गोत्वं विज्ञातुम् न चोक्तानवहनवचनमप्यनर्थकं स्तुत्यर्थेनार्थवद् भविष्यतीति । एवं घृतस्य मधुत्वम् । तस्मात्त एव शब्दा अर्थाश्च । [SB. on MS. I. 3. 30. p. 292].

² cf. अविशिष्टस्तु वाक्यार्थः । [MS. I. 2. 32]. अविशिष्टस्तु लोके प्रयुज्यमानानां वेदे च पदानामर्थः । स यथैव लोके विवक्षितस्तथैव वेदेऽपि भवितुमर्हति । [S. B. on MS. I. 2. 32, p. 150].

³ This point pertains to the problem of the प्रवृत्तिनिमित्त of शब्द which has been fully discussed in another article in the Bombay University Journal, Vol. XVIII, Part 2.

latter alternative and shows how the former is inadmissible by its very nature. If these words are accepted as being *alaukika*, how will you determine their significations? You cannot do it merely on the authority of the *Veda*. For even then the assumption of a particular sense as arising from these words shall not be done without taking into consideration the sense conveyed by the ordinary words that precede and follow the words in question. It is only a desire to avoid the *anarthakya* of the former and the latter *padas* that can justify the assumption of some *alaukika artha*; and if that is so then the popular or the *laukika* and the *asaniskṛta* significations of the preceding and the succeeding words will have to be taken into consideration before one can get the idea of what exactly will save them from being *anarthaka*.¹ This clearly shows that Vedic usage cannot help us to determine the significations of words and sentences. The only help in that field is the ordinary usage as found in our common parlance.

- 10 Both Jaimini as well as Śābara have practised the principle they have preached by constantly referring to the *laukika* usage of words.² They have expressly stated that the relation between *śabda* and *artha* is not made by *śāstra*.³ It is *autpattika* and has to be known from *loka* only.³ *Laukika* usage and nothing else is the

¹ न चालौकिकानां सतां वेदादेव पूर्वोत्तरपदसंबन्धमनपेक्ष्य शक्यतेऽर्थोऽव्यवसा-
बुम् । पूर्वोत्तरपदे अनर्थके मा. भूनामित्येव स परिकल्प्येत । अशक्यस्त्वनवगम्यमानः परि-
कल्पयितुम् । अर्थवती च . ते पदे पूर्वोत्तरे लौकिकेनासंस्कृतप्रयोगेण भविष्यतः । [SB. on
MS. I. 4. 10. p. 343].

² cf. समुदितेष्वेव यजतिशब्दो भवति लोके । [SB. on समुदाये in MS. IV.
2. 27. p. 1241]. हुतमनेनेत्येवंजातीयके वक्तारो भवन्ति लोके । [SB. on MS. IV. 2.
28. p. 1242]. पर्यासशब्दश्चान्तवचनो लोके दृश्यते । [SB. on MS. IV. 3. 8. p. 1324]
एवं चाख्यातार्थं लौकिका अपि प्रतिपद्यन्ते । [SB. on MS. VI. 2. 13]. उभयत्र हि पूर्व-
शब्दो लोके प्रसिद्धः । काले च समुदाये च आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः । [SB. on MS.
IX. 2. 51, p. 1738]. सर्वत्र चाधिपत्ये पतिशब्दः प्रयुक्त आ हिमवत आ च कुमारीभ्यः ।
[S. B. on Ms. IX. 3. 32. p. 1760]. etc. etc.

³ गुणाद्वाप्यभिधानं स्यात् संबन्धस्याशास्त्रहेतुत्वात् । [Ms. III. 2. 4]. न हि
शास्त्रहेतुकः शब्दार्थयोः संबन्धो भवति । नित्योऽसौ लोकनोऽवगम्यत इत्युक्तम्, 'औत्पत्ति-
कस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धः' इति । [SB. on MS. III. 2. 4. p. 754].

means of getting acquainted with the sense of any words.¹ Even the *nāmadhēya* words (i. e. the proper names of sacrifices) are not *paribhāṣita* or technical like the terms *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. Even they convey the *laukika artha* if properly analysed.² Cases are not rare where Jaimini and Śābara determine the signification of a word by referring to the *laukika* usage. For they both hold that *loka* is the only authority so far as *śabdārtha* is concerned.³ The same principle is again observed while interpreting a sentence and we find both Jaimini as well as Śābara either implicitly or explicitly justifying their way of interpreting a text by adducing illustrations from common parlance.⁴

II But this view of *Lokavedayoh śabdārthaikyam* as advocated by Jaimini and Śābara is not easily accepted by the *pūrva-pakṣin* without any protest. Thus an attempt is made to show that though apparently it is quite true that the words and the sentences and their significations are the same in the *Vedas* as well as in common parlance, yet there is a vital difference between the language of the former and that of the latter. In common parlance language is a means to convey our thoughts to others. There our main purpose is the understanding of the *artha*. In the *Veda*, however, we have to deal

¹ सर्वेषामेव शब्दानामर्थज्ञाने लौकिकः प्रयोगोऽभ्युपायः । [SB. on MS. VI. 1.1. p. 1347]. The views of Jaimini and Śābara on The Means of determining the Artha of Śabdus I have discussed in details in a separate article published in the Bombay University Journal, Vol. XVIII, Part 2.

² तथाहि सर्वेष्वेव कर्मनामधेयेषु अर्थसामान्येनानुबन्धमूले नामशब्दो वर्तते । न लौकिकार्थतिरस्कारेण परिभाषामात्रेण वृद्धिगुणवत् । यथा अग्निहोत्रं, श्वेता ज्योतिष्टोम इति । एवं ब्रह्मशास्त्रं इति अर्थान्वयेन नामधेयं नामाभावेनेति । [SB. on MS. X. 6. 41. p. 2006].

³ शब्दार्थश्चापि लौकवत् । [MS. X. 3. 44]; लौको हि शब्दार्थाविगमे प्रमाणम् । [SB. on MS. IX. 3. 13. p. 1751].

⁴ cf. द्रव्योपदेश इति चेत् । न तदर्थत्वच्छ्लोकेन तस्य च शेषमूलकत्वात् । [MS. II. 1. 11-12]; भुक्तिर्यो वा लोकवद्विभागः स्वप्नः । [MS. X. 6. 8]; यथा लोके शतं वेपथ्वस्यज्ञातस्योर्द्वितीयाभिस्तुके समसार्थो विधीयते, यदेतच्छतं तदेतयोर्द्वितीयाभिति । [SB. on MS. X. 6. 8. p. 1912]; लोकेऽवयवधर्मेणावयवो संस्तूयत एवेति । यथा दीर्घः कैरीः शोभन्तो देवदत्त इति । [SB. on MS. X. 6. 43. p. 2007]; यथा अस्मिन्गृहे ये प्राज्ञाणांस्तस्मिन्मन्त्रा देवदत्तो, यज्ञदत्तो, विष्णुमित्र इति भवन्ति लोकेऽनुवादमात्रस्य वक्तारः । एवमेतद्वपीति । [SB. on MS. X. 7. 24. p. 2094].

with the *devatās* on the one hand and the *aṅgas* on the other ; and the former are *apratyakṣa* while the latter are only *acetana*. But what visible purpose can be served by the *samlāpa* with these *apratyakṣa devatās* or these *acetana aṅgas* ? And if only an unseen purpose is to be served thereby, well, mere recitation of the texts is enough for that purpose so that there is no necessity of having any *artha-jñāna* from them. Thus the *pūrva-pakṣin* concludes that the language in common parlance is used to convey some *arthas* ; and unless those *arthas* are understood it will be impossible to carry on any transaction. The same, however, is not the case with the scriptural texts ; for nothing is lost if their significations are not understood. Hence the language of the *Veda* must be understood as being different from that of common parlance.¹ In refutation of this view, however, it has been pointed out by the *sūtrakāra* as well as his commentator that the texts do serve a useful purpose by pointing out the *devatā* and the *aṅgas* without a knowledge of which the performance of the *yāga* itself would be an impossibility. Thus it is not now true to say that in the Vedic texts *artha-jñāna* is not a very important or an essential matter ; for the required knowledge of the *devatā* and the *aṅgas* is given to us by the *artha* of these texts only.²

12 Another attempt is made to distinguish between the language of the *Veda* and that of the common parlance. It is argued that in common parlance we speak of things already known ; while the *Veda* speaks of things hitherto unknown. Thus in ordinary parlance a specific mention of good qualities of some thing does

¹ मैवम् । लोके तैरर्थैर्वचुर्देः संव्यवहारः । इह देवताभिप्रत्यक्षः । भिर्यज्ञाङ्गैश्चाचेतनैः संलपे न कश्चिद्वक्तव्योपकारः । यद्यदृष्टं परिकल्प्येत, उच्चारणादेव तद् भवितुमर्हति । बहिर् कर्तव्यं तत् प्रयोजनम् । उच्चारणं च न कथंचित् कर्तव्यं, यद्यपूर्वाच्च यद्यर्थाच्च । यद्यर्थो न प्रत्याटयते न किञ्चित्पदार्थकम् । यदि न प्रयुज्यते समाख्यामावर्थक्यम् । तस्मादुच्चारणात् पूर्वम् । [SB. on MS. I. 2. 32. p. 150].

² अर्थप्रत्याख्यानार्थमेव यज्ञो यज्ञोच्चारणम् । यद्युक्तं न देवताभिर्यज्ञाङ्गैश्च संलपे प्रयोजनमस्तीति, यज्ञो यज्ञाङ्गप्रकाशनमेव प्रयोजनम् । कथम् । न ह्यप्रकाशिते यज्ञे यज्ञाङ्गे च ज्ञानः शक्योऽपि निर्वर्तयितुम् । तस्मात् तन्निर्वृत्यर्थमर्थप्रकाशनं महत्तु उपकारः कर्मणः, तच्च करोतीत्यवगम्यते । तस्मादस्यैव प्रयोजनम् । तच्च दृष्टं न शक्यमपवदितुं नार्थाभिधानं प्रयोजनमिति । [SB. on MS. I. 2. 32. p. 150 l. 4.]

tend to create a liking for that thing ; but the same result will not follow if the qualities that are thus spoken of are not already known. Thus the liking cannot arise as the natural result of the Vedic texts since they speak of *avidita* things only. How can this liking then be created ? Well, if at all it is to be created by the *Veda* it must come from the most authoritative part thereof, namely the *vidhi*. And if the *vidhi* is not able to create this liking, what can poor *arthavada* do in that direction ? The very fact that the *vidhi* has failed to create a liking, shows that it has created a doubt ; and when a doubt is once created by a *vidhi* even the strongest terms of praise shouted out by the *arthavada* will not have the power to remove the doubt and create the liking that we are speaking of. Thus we find that whereas in common parlance terms of eulogy tend to engender a liking for the thing that is praised, nothing like that can be said to take place in the *Veda*. Hence, the *parva-pakṣin*, argues, we must understand the language of the *Veda* as being different from that of common parlance.¹ This point urged by the *parva-pakṣin*, however, cannot be accepted. It is true that the *Veda* speaks of *avidita* things ; but it does not, therefore, follow that these *avidita* things cannot be eulogised or that a liking for them cannot be created by eulogistic words. For whether we know a thing or not we begin to like it if it is highly talked of. Such is our daily experience. Again it is not true to argue that when a *vidhi* fails to create a liking for a thing it creates a doubt and therefore becomes useless. There are certain injunctive texts which have no

¹ In justification of the अर्थवाद text in the वेद is set forth the following argument : इति चेत्पश्यसि, स्तुतिरनार्थिका, न च शब्देनावगम्यत इति । लौकिकानि वाक्यानि भवन्तो विदिकुर्वन्तु । तद्यथा — इयं गोः क्रेतव्या देवदत्ताया, एषा हि बहुक्षीरा क्षपपत्या अनष्टप्रजा चेति । क्रेतव्येऽप्युक्ते गुणाभिधानात् प्रवर्तन्तेतरां क्रेतारः । बहुक्षीरेति च गुणाभिधानमवगम्यते । तद्वद्देऽपि भविष्यति । [SB. on MS. I. 2. 20. p. 134]. It is as a rejoinder to the above argument that the पूर्वपक्षिन् tries to show the distinction between the लौकिक and the वैदिक भाषा in the following words : नेतदेवम् । लोके विदितपूर्वा अर्था उच्यन्ते बहुक्षीरादयः । तेषां विज्ञानमेव न प्रयोजनम् । अतः प्रशंसा गम्यते अविदितवादे च न श्रद्धांरिन् पूर्ववचनादिव । विदितवादे च प्ररोच्यन्ते । वैदिकेषु पुनर्यदि विधिशब्देन न प्ररोच्यन्ते नतरामर्थवादेन । जाताशक्नो हि विधिशब्दे स तदानीम् । अथ विधिशब्देन प्ररोचितः, क्रिमर्थवादेन । [SB. on Ms. I. 2. 21. p. 134 L.]

arthavāda texts relating to them. Such *vidhis* do the work of not only enjoining a particular act but also of creating a liking for it. When, however, a *vidhi* has an *arthavāda* text related to it, it is assumed that the *vidhi-vākya* does the work of only enjoining the act, while the task of creating a liking for the act is said to be done by the *arthavāda* text. The *vidhi* and the *arthavāda* form only one sentence, so that the *vidhi* has an expectancy for the *arthavāda*¹. Even in common parlance a similar phenomenon may be observed, so that it is not very sound to seek to distinguish the language of the *vidhi* from that of common parlance on the strength of this point of distinction which is more apparent than real.

13 And yet it must be admitted that there are certain features which do distinguish the *vaidika vākya* from the *laukika vākya*, the most important of these being that while the former is *apauruṣeya* the latter is *pauruṣeya*. Discussing the question in full details Jaimini and Śābara have drawn the conclusion that *śabda*, *artha*, and the *sambandha* between the two are all *nitya*²; and that *vākyārtha* is obtained from the *padārthas* only, nay *vākyārtha* is nothing but the sum total of the *arthis* of the constituent *padas*,³ so that human hand can have no scope as far as the vedic

१ किमर्था स्तुतिरिति चेत् । कथं रोचेत नोऽनुष्ठीयतेति । ननु प्राक् स्तुतिवचनादनुष्ठानं भूतिकामान्तात् सिद्धं, स्तुतिवचनमनर्थकम् । न हि यदा स्तुतिपदसंनिधानं तदापूर्वेष्वेव विधिः, यदा स्तुतिपदसंबन्धो न तदाभूतिकामस्यालम्भो विधीयते । यथा पटो भवति षट् उत्पद्यत इत्यर्थः । निराकाङ्क्षं च पदद्वयम् । यदा च तस्मिन्नेव रक्त इत्यपरं श्रूयते तदा रागसंबन्धो भवतीत्यर्थः । भवति च रक्तं प्रत्याकाङ्क्षा । एवं यदा न स्तुतिपदानि, विवि-शब्देनैव तदा प्ररोचना यदा स्तुतिवचनं तदा स्तवनेन । ननु एवं सति किं स्तुतिवचनेन यस्मिन् सत्याविधायकम् । मा भूतत् । तदभावेऽपि पूर्वविधिनैव प्ररोचयिष्यत इति । सत्यं, विनापि तेन सिष्येत् प्ररोचनम् । अस्ति तु तत् । तस्मिन् विद्यमाने योऽर्थो वाक्यस्य सोऽवगम्यते स्तुतिः प्रयोजनं तयोः । तस्मिन् विद्यमाने विधिना प्ररोचनमिति । ननु सत्त्वपि स्तुतिपदेषु पूर्वस्य विधिस्वरूपत्वाद्विधिरभिप्रेतः स्यात् । न विवक्ष्येत स्तुतिपदसंबन्धः । आह स्तुतिपदानि ह्यनर्थकान्यभविष्यन् साक्षाद्दृष्टाणि । भवन्वनर्थकानीति चेत् । न गम्यमानेऽर्थे ऽविवाक्षितार्थानि भवितुमर्हन्ति । योऽसौ विष्युद्देशः स शक्नोति निरपेक्षोऽर्थं विधानुं शक्नोति च स्तुतिपदानां वाक्यशेषो भवितुम् । प्रत्यक्षश्च वाक्यशेषभावः । अतोऽस्माद्विधेः स्तुतिमव-गच्छामः । [SB. on MS. I. 2. 7. p. 117. f.]

¹ Cf. MS. I. 1. 5-23 and Śābara's *bhāṣya* thereon. Also cf. the वृत्तिकारग्रन्थ on pp. 41-58, for a full discussion on this point.

² For a full discussion of this topic cf. MS. I. 1. 24-26 and SB. thereon.

texts are concerned. This, in other words, means that they are *apauruṣeya*. This naturally brings in another point of distinction between the two types of *vākya*s viz. that the *vaidika vākya* is always *pramāṇa* or *tathya*, while the *laukika vākya* may or may not be so. For in the case of a *laukika vākya* its connection with a human agency provides ample scope for error to creep in. Such is not, however, the case with the *Vaidika vākya* where human agency has no scope whatsoever, so that it is *śabda* that forms the only means of obtaining an idea of the things dealt with in the scriptures. And when *śabda* directly imparts to us the knowledge of anything it cannot but be right. For it is contradiction in terms to say *mūḥya bravīti* with reference to *śabda*. *Bravīti* means *budhyamānasya nimittam bhavati*; and if *śabda* is thus found to be the *nimitta* of *arthajñāna*, how can you say that it is not its *nimitta*, which is tantamount to saying that it is not *pramāṇa*? Nor is there any ground like subsequent sublation (*vyabhicāra*) or a defect in the instrument (*duṣṭam Karanam*) which would compel us to accept its *mūḥyatva*. And analogy of the *laukika vākya* is of no use here; for the *laukika vākya* is not the same as the *vaidika vākya*. Hence though the *laukika vākya* is found to be sometimes *tathya* or *pramāṇa* and sometimes *vitatha* or *apramāṇa*, the same cannot be the case with the *vaidika vākya* which by its very nature must be *pramāṇam eva*.¹ A third

१ चोदना हि भूतं भवन्तं भविष्यन्तं सूक्ष्मं व्यवहितं विप्रकृतमित्येवंजातीयकमर्थं शक्येत्यपगमयितुं नान्यत् किञ्चनेन्द्रियम् । नन्वतथाभूतमप्यर्थं ब्रूयाच्चोदना यथा यत्किञ्चन लौकिकं वचनं नद्यास्तैरे फलानि सन्तीति । तत् तथ्यमपि भवति वितथमपि भवतीति । उच्यते—विप्रतिषिद्धमिदमुच्यते ब्रवीति वितथं चेति । ब्रवीतीत्युच्यतेऽवबोधयति, बुद्ध्यमानस्य निमित्तं भवतीति । यस्मिंश्च निमित्तभूते सत्यवबुध्यते सोऽवबोधयति । यदि च चोदनायां सत्यामप्रिहोत्रात् स्वर्गो भवतीति गम्यते कथमुच्यते न तथा भवतीति । अथ न तथा भवतीति कथमवबुध्यते । असन्तमर्थमवबुध्यत इति विप्रतिषिद्धम् । न च 'स्वर्गकामो यजेत' इत्यतो वचनात् संदिग्धमवगम्यते भवति वा स्वर्गो न वा भवतीति । न च निश्चितमवगम्यमानमिदं मिथ्या स्यात् । यो हि जनिता प्रपञ्चते नैतदेवमिति स मिथ्या प्राच्यः । न चैष काशान्तरे पुरुषान्तरेऽवस्थान्तरे देशान्तरे वा विपर्येति । तस्मादवितथः । यत्तु लौकिकं वचनं तत्त्वैवस्थिततत्पुरुषादिन्द्रियविषयं वाऽवितथमेव तत् । अथाप्ययितादनिन्द्रियविषयं वा तावत् पुरुषबुद्धिप्रभवमप्रमाणम् । अशक्यं हि तत् पुरुषेण ज्ञातुमृते वचनात् । अपरस्मात् पुरुषैषाद्वचनादवगतमिति चेत् तदपि तेनैव तुल्यम् । नैवंजातीयकेष्वर्थेषु पुरुषवचनं प्रामाण्यमुपैति

(continued on the next page)

point of distinction between the two that has to be noted is that in the *laukika vākya* the *abhipraya* or some *dr̥ṣṭārtha* is more important than the *śabda*.¹ In fact the *śabda* is used there only as a means of conveying the *artha* or the *abhipraya*.² Naturally, there-

(continued from the previous page)

जात्यम्भानामिव वचनं रूपविशेषेषु । नन्वविदुषामुपदेशो नावकल्पते, उपदिष्टवन्तश्च मन्वा-
दयः । तस्मात् पुरुषाः सन्तो विदितवन्तश्च यथा चक्षुषा रूपमुपलभ्यत इति दर्शनादेवावग-
मम् । उच्यते—उपदेशा व्यामोहादपि भवन्ति । असति व्यामोहे वेदादपि भवन्ति । अपि च
पौरुषेयाद्वचनादेवमयं पुरुषो वेदेति भवति प्रत्ययो नैवमयमर्थ इति । विप्लवते हि सत्त्वपि
कश्चित् पुरुषकृताद्वचनात् प्रत्ययः । न तु वेदवचनस्य मिथ्यात्वे किञ्चन प्रमाणमस्ति । ननु
सामान्यतो दृष्टं पौरुषेयं वचनं वितथमुपलभ्य वचनसाम्यादिदमपि वितथमवगम्यते । न ।
अन्यत्वात् । न ह्यन्यस्य वितथमावेऽन्यस्य वैतथ्यं भवितुमर्हति । अन्यत्वादेव । न हि देव-
दत्तस्य श्यामत्वे यज्ञदत्तस्यापि श्यामत्वं भवितुमर्हति । अपि च पुरुषवचनसाधर्म्याद्वेदवचनं
वितथमित्यनुमानं व्यपदेशादवगम्यते । प्रत्यक्षगन्तु वेदवचनेन प्रत्ययः । न चानुमानं प्रत्यक्ष-
विरोधि प्रमाणं भवति । तस्माच्चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थः श्रेयस्करः । [SB. on MS. I. 1. 2, pp.
13-17] ; Also cf. the वृत्तिकारमस्थ beginning with पौरुषेये हि शब्दे यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य
मिथ्याभाव आशङ्क्येत and ending with तस्माच्चोदनालक्षण एव धर्मः । [p. 42].

लोके कर्मार्थलक्षणम् । [MS. XI. 1. 26] ; अर्थाल्लोके विधितः प्रतिप्रधानं
स्यात् । [MS. XI. 1. 62] ; यच्च लोकवदिति, लोके कर्मार्थप्रधानम् । कार्यवशात् सरुद-
प्युक्तोऽसरुदाहरति, असरुदप्युक्तः सरुदाहरति नाहरति वा । अथेह शब्दलक्षणे कर्मणि
यथाशब्दार्थं प्रवृत्तिः । तस्माल्लोकवदित्यदृष्टान्तः । [SB. on MS. XI. 1. 26, p. 2114 f.]
अर्थाल्लोके प्रदीपस्य सरुदसरुदा क्रिया । यदि सरुत्कृतः सर्वं प्रकाशयति सरुत् क्रियते,
अथ न प्रकाशयति ततोऽसरुत् । ततश्चास्य प्रत्यक्षसामर्थ्यम् । अथेह विधिन उपकारोऽ-
नुपकारो वा गम्यते, न प्रत्यक्षेण । [SB. on MS. XI. 1. 62, p. 2129] ; शब्दलक्षणे कर्मणि
शब्दाभिहितं गम्यते, न लोकाभिप्रायः । [SB. on MS. X. 5. 57, p. 1968] ; लोके कर्मार्थ-
लक्षणं भवति न शब्दलक्षणम् । यथार्थस्तथा क्रियते न यथा शब्दः । वेदे तु शब्देनैवार्थोऽ-
वगम्यते । तथैवानुष्ठेयमिति । [SB. on MS. VI. 8. 27, p. 1516] ; शब्दप्रमाणका वयम् ।
यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम् । लोके तु कार्यं
दृष्ट्वा चोदितमचोदिनमप्यनुष्ठेयत एव । [SB. on MS. III. 2. 36, p. 793 f.] ; लोके
कर्मार्थलक्षणं शब्दलक्षणं पुनर्वेदे । [SB. on MS. III. 1. 17, p. 726 f.] ; लोकेऽर्थलक्षणः
संव्यवहारः । येन येनार्थः समृष्टेन उक्तोऽनुक्तो वा स समृज्येतेव । इह तु वेदे शब्दलक्षणः ।
[SB. on MS. III. 1. 16, p. 725] ; also cf. SB. on MS. X. 8. 3, p. 2055 f.

लोकेऽन्यतः प्रवृत्तस्यार्थस्यानुषाद्भूतः शब्द उच्चार्यमाणः सामान्यक्रियासंबन्धा-
भिसमीक्षयोच्चरित इति गम्यते । इह तु शब्दपूर्विका क्रियाप्रवृत्तिः ।
[SB. on MS. X. 6. 48, p. 2008].

fore, in a *laukika vākya* the *śabda* in its *vācyārtha* is not always strictly honoured. Sometimes the *vācyārtha* is set aside and some *lakṣanika artha* is accepted so as to suit the *abhipraya* of the speaker. ¹ Sometimes even devices like *adhyāhāra* and *vipariṇāma* are resorted to while interpreting a *laukika vākya*. ² And all this is admissible because in a *laukika vākya* it is the *abhipraya* of the speaker rather than the *śabda* which matters most. Quite different, however, is the case with the *vaidika vākya* which being *apauruṣeya* cannot be said to be based on some *abhipraya* or *artha* of the speaker. In it *śabda*, and nothing else but *śabda*, is *pramāṇa*, ³ so much so that while interpreting a scriptural text we have to accept the direct sense that is conveyed by it. Other devices of interpretation such as *adhyāhāra* and *vipariṇāma* which find scope in the interpretation of a *laukika vākya*, are evidently and as a general rule, not admissible in the case of a *vaidika vākya*. Hence it is that we find Śaṅkara often referring to the general rule that *lakṣana* is not admissible in a *vidhi vākya*. ⁴ Here it may be noted that this point of distinction applies to *vidhi-vākyas* only and not all *vaidika vākyas* whatsoever. ⁵ Thus whenever a human being is laying down an injunction, the *vākya* that he or she utters, the *laukika vidhi vākya*, will be interpreted and obeyed with due respect to the intention of the speaker. This is what is clearly stated by Jaimini when he

¹ Cf. e. g. यथा लोके प्रथमुद्देवदत्त इयुच्यते । यद्यपि सृषशाकादिभिरधिकः प्रस्थो भवति तन्नपि भुजो प्रस्थे निर्दिश्यते व्यञ्जनान्योदनार्थानि । [SB. on Ms. X. 8. 29, p. 2079].

² लौकिकेषु तु वाक्येष्वेवं गम्यते । तानि हि विज्ञातेऽर्थे प्रयुज्यमानान्यव्याहार्यपदानि गोचरानि विपरिणतव्यवहितार्थानि च प्रयुज्यन्ते । तस्मिन् तस्मादस्याद्वयनावगम्येव व्यर्थेषु भवति तत्स्वरूपो विख्यातस्थयः । यथा सृगवृष्णादिषु । [SB. on MS. IV. 3. 2, p. 1247].

³ Cf. Notes 1 and 2 on page 209 above. Also read : न शब्दप्रमाणकावामन्तरेण शब्दलक्षणेति स्यादथा । [SB. on MS. VI. 1. 3, p. 1353]; शब्दलक्षणे च कर्मणि शब्दो नः प्रमाणम् । [SB. on MS. X. 5. 44, p. 1962].

⁴ नन्वनुवादेऽपि लक्षणा । नानुवादपक्षे लक्षणायां दोषः । [SB. on MS. I. 4. 22, p. 364]; अनुवादे हि लक्षणा न्याय्या न विधी । [SB. on MS. IV. 4. 19, p. 1278]; यदाहोऽहोऽहोऽहोऽहोऽहो न विधिपक्षे । गोमो हि न आयुश्च शब्दः स्यादपि । [SB. on MS. I. 1. 2, p. 1201].

⁵ विधी हि न परः शब्दार्थः प्रतीयते । [SB. on MS. I. 2. 29, p. 144].

writes, 'Loke karmārthalaṅkāraṃ',¹ or 'Arthallāke viditāḥ prati-pradhānam syāt'²; and Śābara also has very well elaborated this point in several places. This importance attaching to *śabda* in a *vaidika vākya* gives rise to another point of distinction between a *laukika vākya* on the one hand and a *Vaidika vākya* on the other. The former are sometimes found to be *anarthaka*. We do come across such sentences as 'Daśa dadīmāni sud-aṇṇaḥ', or 'Jatadgaṇo gayati mattakāni'. Such *vākyas* are totally *anarthaka*. We also come across some *vākyas* which, though not totally *anarthaka* like those quoted above, are yet partially *anarthaka*, containing some *pada*- or *padas* which may be *anarthaka*. Thus *laukika vākyas* are open to *anarthakya* in both these aspects.³ Such, however, is not the case with the *vaidika vākyas*. For *anarthakya* of neither of these varieties can find any place therein.⁴ Not only the *vaidika vākya* as a whole, but every part of it i. e. every constituent *pada* thereof must yield some *artha* of its own. This is what is meant by the general rule 'Arthavattvam nyāyām' or negatively 'Anarthakyaṃ anyāyām', which has been time and again referred to by Śābara in his *bhāṣya*. From this rule naturally springs another corollary viz. more words, more sense. For if the signification of two words is the same as what is yielded by one, it naturally means that the second word is useless or redundant. But *anarthakya* is the last thing that can be admitted in the case of a *vaidika śabda*. Hence it follows that more sense must be yielded by the other words: or that the greater the number of words, the greater the sense. Thus the interpreter of a *vaidika vākya* has to take care that he does not leave out any word or words uninterpreted, or that he takes into account the signification of each and every word in the text that he is interpreting.

14 The views of Jaimini and Śābara regarding the language of the Scriptural texts may now be briefly set forth as follows:— There is no difference between the language of the scriptural text on the

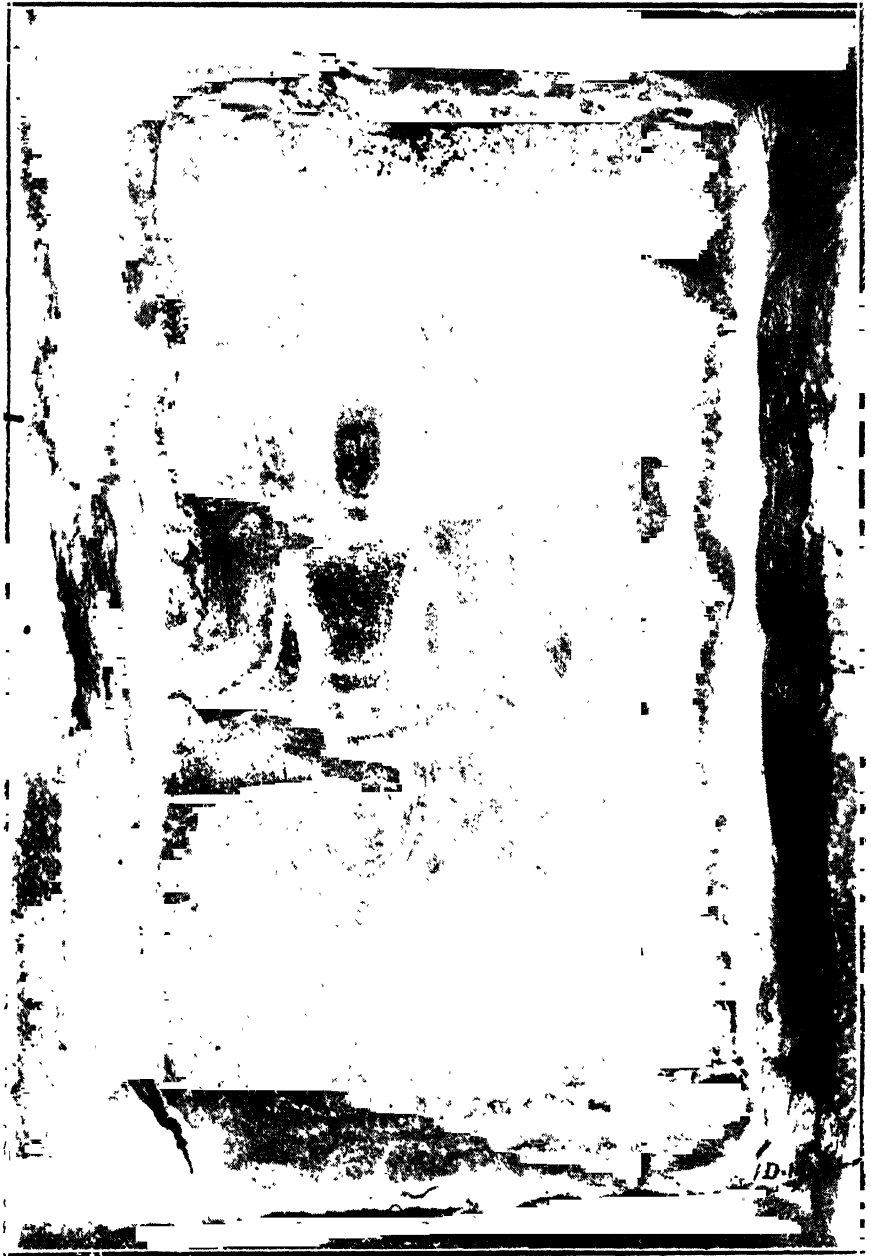
¹ MS. XI. 1. 26.

² Ms. XI. 1. 62.

³ लौकिकानि वचनाभ्युपपन्नार्थान्यनुपपन्नार्थानि च दृश्यन्ते । यथा देवदत्त नाम्नाज इत्येवमादीनि दश दाडिमानि षड्पूपा इत्येवमादीनि च । [वृत्तिकारग्रन्थ, p. 47].

⁴ This point has been very well discussed and established by Śābara in his commentary on कृते वा विनियोगः स्यात् कर्मणः संबन्धात् । (MS. I. 1. 32, pp. 103-104).

one hand and that of common parlance on the other so far as the words, the sentence and their significations are concerned. The significations of words cannot be determined by vedic usage or by *śāstra*. Ordinary usage of the common parlance is the only means by which to determine the *śabdārtha*. The vedic texts must, therefore, be interpreted always in accordance with the *laukika* usage, so that every principle that is adopted by an interpreter of the vedic texts must be supported by *laukika* usage. In addition to this, every word in the vedic texts must be accepted as yielding some special signification of its own, so that no part of text might be rendered useless or nugatory. And lastly the *vaidika vidhi* has to be understood in its *vācyārtha* to the exclusion of the other devices of interpretation such as *adhyahara* and *vipariṇāma* which are often resorted to in interpreting a *laukika vākya*. Thus though language of the *Veda* is the same as that of common parlance yet it must be borne in mind that the former must be so interpreted as to derive some *artha* from each one of its component parts sticking to the *vācyārtha* as far as possible, whereas in the latter this rule may not be so strictly followed.



(Fig. A)

The central shrine of the Mahiṣāsurā Maṇḍapa of Mahābalipuram
representing ' Somāskanda. '



(Fig. B)

‘Somāskanda’ as represented in the ‘Dharmarāja’s Ratha’ of Mahābaliapuram.

THE IMAGE OF NĀRĀYAṆA

By

L. B. KENY

In an article entitled "The Origin of Nārāyaṇa" we have made an attempt to identify Nārāyaṇa, described in the Vanaparva of the *Mahabharata*, with an ancient pre-Aryan deity - a prototype of the historic Śiva¹. We have also stated in the same article that "the representation of Nārāyaṇa or Śeṣaśāyi, without Brāhmā rising from the navel, is probably the stepping stone to the Brahmanization"² of that pre-Aryan Śiva.

In a recent visit to Mahabalipuram we studied one of such representations of Nārāyaṇa. The Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa has one of its panels reproducing this image of the Anantaśayana. Before going into the details of the description of this image of Nārāyaṇa it would be advisable to note the general characteristics of the entire Maṇḍapa.

The Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa is a purely Śaivite rock-cut temple.³ The central shrine represents Śiva, Pārvatī and the child Skanda, with Nandi the Vahana of Śiva at their feet (fig. A). This main panel generally called Somāskanda, is found portrayed even at other places. But the more important factor in this panel of the main shrine of the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa is the representation of Brāhmā and Viṣṇu appearing behind Śiva, and also much smaller in size compared to the size of Śiva. Longhurst while describing a similar panel in the so-called Dharmarāja's Ratha (cf. fig. B) styles these two figures as "a four-armed attendant on each side of the main group".⁴ Even from a comparative point of view of the difference in sizes of the figures, we see here the importance of Śiva in comparison with that of both Viṣṇu and Brāhmā. The latter are

¹ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XXIII, pp. 250A.

² *Ibid.*, p. 254.

³ *Archaeological Survey of India Report (A. S. I. R.)* 1910-11, p. 55; *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, (M. A. S. I.), No. 36, p. 34.

⁴ *M. A. S. I.*, No. 33, p. 27.

mere *devas* 'bright beings', Śiva being the *Īśvara*.¹ And probably this secondary character of these two '*devas*' has led Prof. Longhurst to mistake them for two attendants. A socket hole, moreover, cut in the centre of the floor of the shrine just described above, and designed for a Śiva-linga,² corroborates the Śaivite characteristic of the Maṇḍapa.

It would not be out of place for the sculptor to carve an independent panel to show the greatness of the goddess Pārvatī who is already represented in the main shrine. The right panel of the Maṇḍapa is entirely dedicated to the representation of the heroism of Pārvatī in her battle with the demon called Mahiṣāsura (fig. C). It is on account of this panel representing the war of Pārvatī with the demon Mahiṣa that the whole temple is called Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa³. "The eight armed goddess, astride on her vehicle, the lion", says Vogel, "is shown in the act of shooting arrows at the demon king ... Right opposite Durgā stands the colossal figure of the buffalo-headed demon king. His royal rank also is indicated by a parasol over his head. He carries a heavy mace in his two hands and has, moreover, a sword fastened to his left hip. His attitude is that of yielding to the onslaught of the warlike goddess. His army is represented by seven demons"⁴. "The present scene of Mahiṣāsura's defeat", continues Vogel, "differs wholly from the conventional manner of representing this scene"⁵. But much more realistic is the description of this panel given by Rev. Fr. Hermas, "This panel" according to him, "is purely original ... The sculptor had no model from which to copy, and what is more, the panel has never ... been copied elsewhere. It represents the goddess not tramping over the dead buffalo and killing the *asura* that springs forth from its neck, but she is riding on her *vahana*, the lion, and actually shooting arrows and aiming at the *asura*, who is represented as a colossal giant with buffalo's head. The beauty of this new representation", continues the author, "is increased by the numerous figures that have been put round the two main ones. The fight of the *devi* and the *asura* was not a subject grand enough for the creative power of that unknown genius; he happily introduced two armies, the army of Durgā and the army of the Mahiṣa,

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 17, p. 32.

² *Ibid.*, No. 33, p. 34.

³ *A. S. I. R.*, 1910-11, p. 55.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.



(Fig. C)

Car of Parvati with Muhisasura represented in the Mahabharata Mandapa of Mahabalipuram (Right Panel



(Fig. D.)

The so-called "sleep of Vishnu" represented in the Mahisāsura Mardapa of Mahabalipuram (Left Panel).

the result being the creation of a scene, the most impressive carving of Mahabalipuram ... a Painting in stone" ¹.

The opposite panel likewise, is also another representation of a scene of war (fig. D). The sculptor shows here, no doubt, his keen sense of uniformity. The main shrine of this Śaivite temple consists, as we have already seen, of Śiva, Pārvaṭi and Skanda, with Nandi the Vāhana of Śiva. The right panel is the representation of the individual heroic character of Pārvaṭi. Could the representation of the left panel be that of Viṣṇu ?

This scene is explained as " the sleep of Viṣṇu " ². That this scene does not represent " the sleep " is clearly seen from the position of the "two colossal figures standing in an attitude of defiance" each holding a mace (fig. E). Even the "sleeping" image seems to hold in his hand the *Cakra* which is an instrument of war (fig. F). One of the two giants, at least, is ready to strike the lying figure with his mace, while Śeṣaśayi seems to hurl the *cakra* at any moment, as is suggested by the position of his hand (fig. F). This is doubtless a scene of war similar to that on the opposite wall.

Having taken this sleeping image as that of Viṣṇu the two giants are called Madhu and Kaiṭabha who sprang from the ear of Viṣṇu while he was asleep at the end of a Kalpa, and were about to kill Brahmā who was seated on the lotus springing from Viṣṇu's navel. ⁴ Viṣṇu is said to have killed them. ⁵

The identification of these two demons with Madhu and Kaiṭabha seems a little too premature. First of all there is not any trace of Brahmā seated on the lotus rising from Viṣṇu's navel in the panel-Brahmā whom these demons were about to kill.

While explaining the two 'flying figures' over the sleeping god, Longhurst describes one of them as a Gaṇa and the other "perhaps, the goddess Yoganiḍrā-Durgā born from the wrath of the gods for the destruction of the evil spirits." ⁶

¹ Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, pp. 87-88.

² A. S. I. R., 1910-11, p. 56.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ M. A. S. I. No. 36, p. 37.

⁵ Dowson, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, p. 139.

⁶ M. A. S. I., No. 33, p. 36.

It is only after taking the image to be that of Viṣṇu that the scholar suspects one of the flying figures as that of Yoganidrā Durgā,¹ who is the great illusory energy of Viṣṇu, personified.² But taking into consideration the other figure described as a Gaṇa, we do not feel certain about the identification of the Yoga-nidrā Durgā. The Gaṇas are purely the attendants of Śiva. They even form his retinue.³ How could a Gaṇa be represented together with Viṣṇu?

Longhurst does not seem to identify the three lower small-sized figures of the panel.

An early Indian tradition mentions a war between Skanda, the son of Śiva, and the demon king Tāraka.⁴ It could be summarized as follows:

The demon-king Tāraka vanquished all the gods and was oppressing them much. So they prayed Brahmā for a leader. Thereupon Brahmā foretold that it was only through Śiva that the future conqueror of the demon would be born. Śiva, however, was still an ascetic practising severe austerities in the Himālaya. Thereupon, Kāma, the god of love, was sent to cause Śiva to fall in love with Umā (Pārvatī) the daughter of Himālaya. Kāma succeeded in his undertaking, but at the cost of his own self being completely burnt to ashes by the wrath of Śiva. Śiva married Pārvatī, and through them was born Skanda (Kumāra, Kārtikeya etc.) who killed Tārakāsura.

The *Mahābhārata* relates the story of the birth and the fight of Skanda with the demon, in a slightly different way. One of the passages of the Epic describes Skanda as the result of the union of Saha (Arundhatī) and Agni. But being a lady of great ascetic power and much devoted towards her husband, she threw six times the seed of Agni into a golden well where a child was born. And as the seed was considered 'cast off', the

¹ *Ibid.*

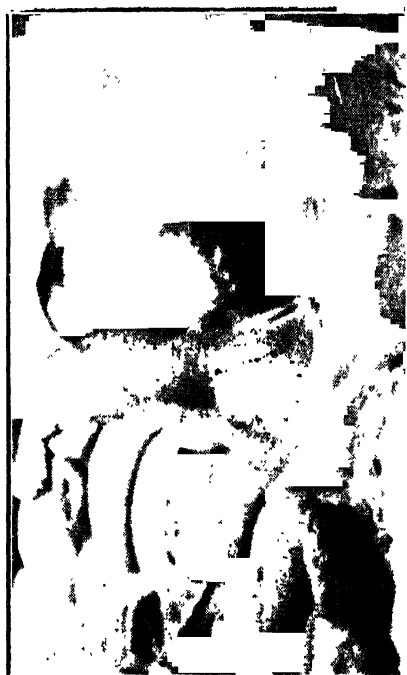
² Dows n, *op cit.*, p. 377.

³ Cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, OLIV, 335; *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parva, XLV, 288 (Bombay ed.).

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana Parva, 4212-14; *Matsya Purāṇa*, OLIII-CLX; *Skanda Purāṇa*, XX-XXX; cf. *Kathāsaritsaṅgāra* Translated by Tawney, II, p. 102; I, p. 5.



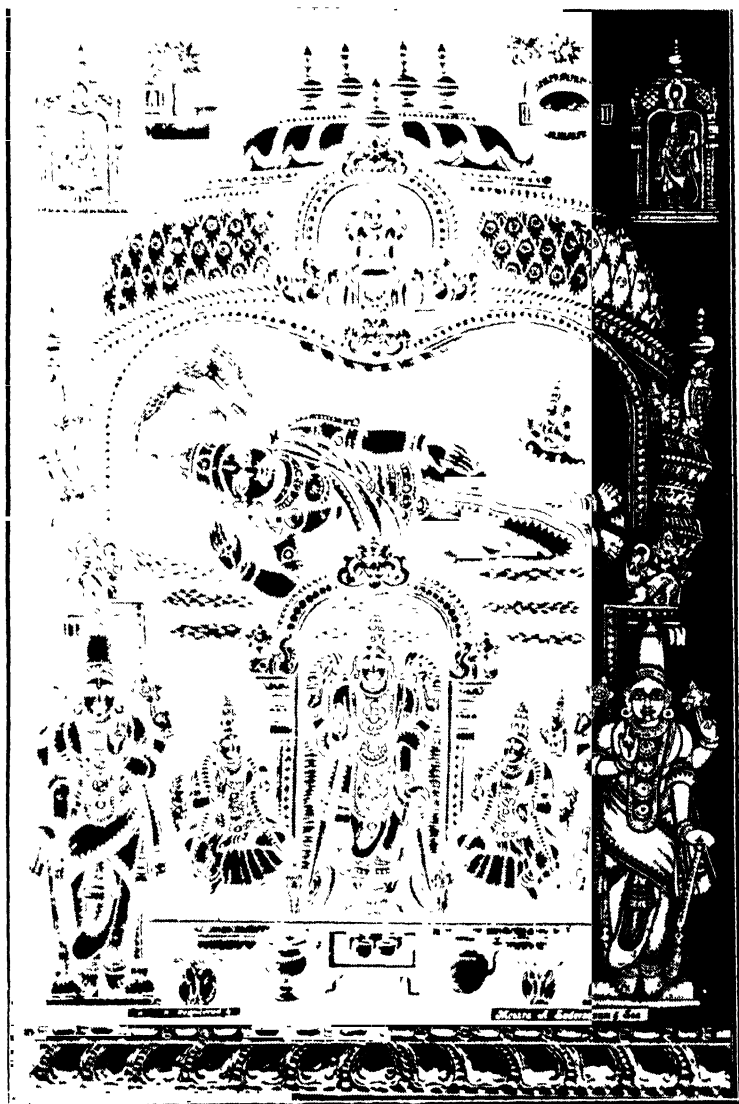
(Fig E)



(Fig F)



(Fig. G)



(Fig. H)

Śrīranganātha of Śrīraṅgam ; Trichinopoly.

(This is the only official photograph available from the temple authorities, there being no actual photograph of the image).

child was called Skanda.¹ Another passage of the same parva describes Skanda as the child of Rudra and Agni.² The *Salya Parva* describes the same legend of the birth of Skanda in a little more detail. In the days of yore, according to the passage, the vital seed of Mahesvara dropped into Agni who could neither burn it nor bear it. So it was thrown into the Ganges who in turn threw it on the Himalayas where the child grew, nurtured by the six Krttikās.³ Skanda, according to the same Epic, was made the generallissimo of the army of the Devas to fight the Daityas.⁴ Skanda killed in that battle the powerful demon Taraka, and many more *daitya* heroes.⁵

Let us now study the whole panel in the light of this legend.

According to the text of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, before his fight with Skanda, Taraka uses a mace very skilfully against the gods.⁶ Both the demons depicted in the figure are possessed each with a mace. There cannot be, therefore, any difficulty in identifying Taraka, the king of the demons, with one of them. He can be better identified with the figure facing the onlooker, he appearing more prominent.

The other colossal figure may very easily be suspected to be that of the demon Krauñca who was an accomplice of Taraka. But the traditional story, described above, does not, in the least, mention Krauñca as taking any part in the battle between Taraka and Kārttikeya. But another demon by name Grasana, who was the general of King Taraka⁸, is described in the legend as giving a very heroic fight to the gods and being killed by Hari.⁹ The representation of the panel clearly shows this demon holding a mace; and the story about Grasana's pulling down Yama's buffalo with a single blow of the mace¹⁰, explains very well his efficiency in handling the

¹ *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, 14311-15.

² *Ibid.*, 14428 : इन्द्रमग्निं द्विजाः प्राह इन्द्रमुत्तमस्तु सः ।

³ *Ibid.*, Salyaparva, 2455-61.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, 14423-25; Salyaparva, 2498, 2523.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Salyaparva, 2690-94.

⁶ *Matsya Purāṇa*, OLIII, 190-92.

⁷ Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁸ *Matsya Purāṇa*, OXLVIII, 38, OLI, 34, OLII, 26.

⁹ *Ibid.*, OLI, 34-36; OL, 1-10, 32-46, OLII, 26-36.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, OL, 6-8; 26; 32.

mace. Thus these two colossal figures represent, no doubt, the demons Tāraka and his general Grasana.

Let us now turn to the two "flying-figures". We have already expressed our doubt about the identification of the Yoga-nidrā-Durgā, and also shown that the Gaṇas are purely a Śaivite creation. In the traditional account of the legend of the fight, the *Skanda Purāṇa* states that the son of Śaṃkara (viz. Skanda) was accompanied by Gaṇas in the battle¹. The same account further informs us that many Gaṇas were killed in that battle by Tāraka². The supposed Yoga-nidrā Durgā is seen in the panel leading the Gaṇa. Who else can this female 'leader of the Gaṇas' be but Pārvatī as the Gaṇa-nāyaki?³

While describing the three small-sized figures in front of the 'serpent couch' Mr. Longhurst says that "the first male Figure, the lower part of which is hidden, raises his left hand and holds some indistinct object in his right hand. The two remaining figures are shown kneeling, the female one in the attitude of adoration"⁴.

Comparing the two male figures one shall at once realize that the one to the left is much more ornamented than the one to the right. This clearly shows that the former is a personage of higher status than the latter. With his well-ornamented crown, necklace and armlets, he seems to be some royal personage. He looks as if telling or ordering something to the other male figure who is not represented as finely dressed as his master. He is seen with a pose as if accepting all the orders with due respect to his master. Mr. Longhurst has already described this person as "kneeling"⁵. The first male figure, the lower part of which is hidden," says Longhurst, "raises his left hand and holds some indistinct object in his right hand."⁶ (cf. fig. G.)

This first person called by us as the 'royal personage' could be none else than Skanda or Kumāra or Kārttikeya, the son of Śiva, and supposed to be, very likely from the occasion of this war, the

¹ *Skanda Purāṇa*. XXVIII, 48.

² *Ibid.* XXIX, 56: तथैव तारकणेन घातिता बहवो गणाः ।

³ Cf. Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

M. A. S. I., No. 33, p. 36,

god of war. The *Mahabharata* describes him as being adorned with a golden armlet and garland, a crest and crown of gold¹ a description that applies very well to the figure of the panel. Even the prominent garland around the figure, "the lower part of which is hidden", seems to be the celestial and triumphal garland of gold made by Viśvakarmā, and presented to Skanda by Indra.² The lower 'hidden' part, again very probably suggests Skanda's rearing up on the Himavat³ or his being supported by the Earth.⁴ But of all the different signs, the most suggestive and distinct clue is that "indistinct object in his right hand." This object is nothing else but Skanda's infallible missile ('Śakti') by which he killed the demon Tāraka.⁵ This missile, represented in the panel in the form of flames, is described by the *Mahabharata* in full detail. According to the Epic, Agni conferred on Kārttikeya a weapon that possessed great lustre and which seemed to blaze with light,⁶ for the destruction of the enemies. The Epic accounts further state that while this 'blazing Śakti'⁷ was repeatedly hurled by Skanda, meteors and thunderbolts dropped upon the earth, and when that terrible dart was once hurled, millions of darts came out of it.⁸ The passage further states that thousands of *Daiṭyas* were reduced to ashes by the flames that came out of Skanda's missile.⁹ With all this description we do not feel any doubt to identify the "indistinct object" of Longhurst with the missile of Skanda and which is so perfectly and realistically represented by the sculptor as a weapon in flames.

¹ *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, 14402.

² Cf. *Ibid.* Śalyaparva, 2667 Vanaparva, 14426-27.

³ Cf. *Ibid.* Ādiparva, 2587-88.

⁴ *Ibid.* Śalyaparva, 2469: दधार पृथिवी चने विभ्रती रूपमुत्तमम् ।

Similar figures represented as rising up from the earth are found also in Greece (cf. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, fig. 88, p. 277, fig. 88, p. 311, fig. 89, p. 314, fig. 153, p. 526, fig. 175, p. 640).

⁵ Cf. *Ibid.* Śalyaparva, 2690-91, Vanaparva, 14609-10, Anuśāsana Parva, 4214, Cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, XXX, 39.

⁶ *Ibid.* Śalyaparva, 2662-63: द्यौर्मानां सितप्रभा ।

⁷ *Ibid.* Vanaparva, 14609-10: प्रज्वलिता शक्ति ।

⁸ *Ibid.* Śalya Parva, 2687-90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2696-97. In the temple at Aihole the *Śakti-gaṇḍha* of Subrahmanya when slaying Tārakāsura is represented like a poniard. Cf. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 448; Pl. CXXVIII,

Thus after identifying the royal personage with Skanda, we find in the other person the identification of Virabhadra, the general of Skanda¹ who is instructed by his master about the arrangement of the army. Virabhadra seems to receive orders by kneeling with all the due respect for Kārttikeya.

But of all the figures represented in the panel the one of the bowing lady in the *Añjali mudra* is the most puzzling. As could be made out from her ornamented body and the decorative crown, she seems to be a lady of a very high rank. Does she, then, represent Pārvati herself or one of her forms called *Śiva-dūtī* "~~Śiva's~~ messenger"? Or is she the milder form of Śakti about which we have already spoken?²

We have identified all the figures of the panel except the main and central one which lies on the serpent. Who could this "sleeping" deity be? Could it be really Viṣṇu as has been described till now by scholars?

The so-called Anantaśayana, especially as is represented in this panel, is not in the usual conventional way of depicting Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. Together with the absence of the lotus with Brahma rising from the navel, we do not even find the traditional number of hands and the different emblems in them which were supposed to be the symbols of the deity. Out of the four instruments of war — Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gaḍa and Padma — the image seems to have only one viz. the Cakra by which the deity called Hari is said to have killed the demon Grasana.³

Hari is a name applied both to Śiva and Viṣṇu. As we have seen, the deity who cut the throat of the demon Grasana, was called also Hari.

The war of the demons against the gods for the complete destruction of the latter is found not only in early Indian literary

¹ Cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, XXIX, 22, 42, 45, 49.

² Cf. Dowson, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87. According to Dowson Śakti is the female energy of Śiva. She has two forms one mild and the other fierce.

³ *Māhātmya Purāṇa*, CII, 34-36.

tradition but also in Sumer, Egypt, Greece and Rome¹. These nations seem to form offshoots of the Indo-Mediterranean race, all hailing from the original Hamitic stock of India². This similarity between the accounts of the wars shows a common source, the expression of which seems to be the account of this battle of the demons with Tāraka at their head, against all the gods with Skanda as their leader. This similarity, therefore, proves the account of the war to be of pre-Aryan origin. Grasana of this story, therefore, must have been killed by a pre-Aryan god.

Who then, could this deity described as Hari be? He must be Hari=Śiva, as the name Hari may also be a name of Śiva³, or Hari=Viṣṇu, introduced here later in order to Brahmanize the story of the fight. The internal evidence of the narrative of the legend corroborates the identification of Hari with Śiva. The Skanda Purāṇa mentions Skanda, the son of Śiva, as *Haripriya*⁴ "loved by Hari". The whole passage reads :

प्रणम्य शंभुं मनसा हरिर्धियः स्वां मातरं चैव नतः कुमारः ।

कार्तिकेयस्ततः शक्या निचकर्त रिपोः शिरः ॥⁵

which means "The one loved by Hari, having bowed to Śambhu (Śiva), and (that), Kumāra who was as if bowed down to his own mother, that Kārttikeya then cut off the head of the enemy by his missile (शक्या)."

As could very well be seen from the account of the legend, Skanda, before his final fight with the demon King Taraka and his

¹ In Sumer and later in Babylon, we find Tiamat fighting against God Marduk and being finally killed by him. The story is described in Babylonian poems: (Dhorme, *Choir de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 3ff., 55ff., 83ff.). In Egypt it is the serpent Apap which fights against Rā and is finally wounded and enchained by Rā himself. The account is found in the famous Egyptian Book of the Dead: (Virey, *La Religion de L'Ancienne Egypte*, p. 41 note 3; Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, p. 325). In Greece and Rome the Titans also rebelled against Zeus and Jupiter and were thrown down to hell by the latter: (Grote, *A History of Greece*, I, pp. 4-7). For these references I am indebted to Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay.

² Heras, "The Hamitic Indo-Mediterranean Race", *The New Review*, XIV, pp. 165ff.

³ Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 1289

⁴ *Skanda Purāṇa*, XXX, 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*

victory therein, goes to get blessings from his father and mother. The verse doubtless describes the respect of the son for his parents and the love of the latter for their son. How could *Haripriya*, in this verse, ever mean, "the loved one of Viṣṇu" instead of "the loved one of Śiva"? Hari, here, undoubtedly refers to Śiva. The Hari that killed the demon Grasana by his *Cakra* is none else than the great god Śiva. In fact the *Cakra* was originally an emblem of Śiva; and it passed on to Keśava (Viṣṇu), being given to him by Mahādeva, after he had killed a *Daiṭya*, who, proud of his strength, lived in waters¹. It was through the intervention of Śiva that Skanda could manage to kill the king of the demons.² The epithet 'Hari', was later on applied to Viṣṇu who seems to be the Aryanised form of Śiva. The account of this fight found in different literary works, seems to be Aryanised already, but not so the image of Nārāyaṇa under study, as yet.

The identification of the image of Anantaśayana or Śeṣaśayi in the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa, with Śiva, is further confirmed by the study of a similar image of Nārāyaṇa found in the Śaivite sea-shore temple of Mahabalipuram itself. The supine image of the so-called 'Viṣṇu' of the Shore Temple, is described as "originally to have been an inferior copy of the fine image of the same deity in Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa".³ This image is further said to be "a large decayed stone image of Viṣṇu in a recumbent position and representing that deity in the form of Anantaśayana".⁴

The main shrine of this Shore Temple contains a similar representation of the Somāskanda as that of the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa⁵, except for the *vahana* Nandi, which is missing here. Two copies of the same tableau are found in the porch of the same shrine⁶. A polished *līṅga*, supposed to be originally about 6 feet in height, was found in the sand outside the shrine and replaced in the socket in

¹ *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, XLV, 60 (Bombay ed.).

² Cf. *Skanda Purāṇa*, XXX, 25, 36. Probably it is this story that is referred to in the account of the Kēndur Plates (of Kīrtivarman II), which states: "His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings ... at the command of his father, just as Kārttikeya, at the command of Śiva, defeated the very insolent host of demons ... (Pathak, "Kēndur Plates of Kīrtivarman II", *Epigraphia Indica*, IX, pp. 202, 205, 11, 16-20).

³ *M. A. S. L.*, No. 40, p. 5. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ *Ibid.*

the centre of the shrine¹. There is another "small attendant Śiva temple" built at the back of this main shrine and facing the west². And the "large decayed stone image" of the so-called Viṣṇu is enshrined in the narrow space between these two Śiva temples³. A carved head of Śiva has also been discovered in the sand around the base of the smaller Śiva temple⁴. This Śaivite character of the temple is further corroborated by the innumerable Nandis, "found buried in the sand both within and without the enclosure" of the temple; some of these Nandis are still found crowning the portion of the surrounding outer *prakāra* not yet ruined⁵.

It would seem incongruous to find a Vaiṣṇavite image occupying one of the shrines of this temple whose Śaivite characteristics are so remarkable. But now, knowing as we know, the Śaivite origin of Nārāyaṇa, and after having studied the Nārāyaṇa panel of the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa, we have no doubt in stating that this recumbent image of Nārāyaṇa is in its proper place and in the most congenial surroundings in this strictly Śaivite temple.

This image of Nārāyaṇa without Brahmā on the lotus rising from the navel, has a striking resemblance with the images of Śrī Raṅganātha in Śivasamudram, Śrīraṅgam and Seringapatam. The image of Śivasamudram is about eight feet long and is reclined in a sleeping pose "on a conventionalised Ananta figure with seven hoods."⁶ The female figure at the feet of this Raṅganātha is supposed to be that of Kāveri.⁷ Śiva-samudram is an island in the Kāveri river, in the Kollegāl Taluk of Coimbatore District.⁸ The very name of the place (*Śiva-samudram*, "the sea of Śiva") is a definite proof of the place being a Śaivite centre of religion. The temple contains even a large *linga* in the *garbhagrha*, and a horned bull in the vestibule.⁹ The name Raṅganātha seems to be a

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 6. Towards the west and a few furlongs from the Shore Temple there is, in the village, another temple called the temple of *Perumāḷ* or *Sthalaiśayana Perumāḷ*. On enquiry we came to know from the Pujārī that the image of *Perumāḷ* was done exactly in the same fashion as the one of the Shore Temple Anantaśayana. In fact just because the Shore Temple was getting immersed in the sea, this temple in the village, exactly in the same way as the Shore temple, was erected.

⁶ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, 1938, p. 38.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXIII, p. 65; *Of. Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, 1938, p. 37; Gundappa, *All About Mysore*, p. 131.

⁹ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, 1938, p. 38.

Sanskritized form of some old non-Aryan deity, probably Śiva, as the name of the place seems to suggest.

Another representation of this image is found in the so called famous Viṣṇu temple of Śrī Rāṅganātha in the island of Śrīraṅgam in the district of Trichinopoly.¹ This two armed Śrī Rāṅganātha image is represented as reclining on the folds of the serpent Ananta or Ādiśeṣa, and protected by its five hoods² (fig. H.).

There is another similar image of Rāṅganātha enshrined in Seringapatam (Śrīraṅgapaṭam) situated on another island in the Kāveri, 10 miles north-east of Mysore city.³ To tradition the place is known as the Paścima Rāṅganātha Kṣetra.⁴ According to an ancient tradition, a sage by name Gautama, who worshipped this god Rāṅganātha, had a hermitage here.⁵ Inside the *garbhagṛha* of this temple there is " a colossal image of Viṣṇu reclining on the huge coils of the great snake Ananta who lifts up his seven headed hood to shade his master's head ".⁶ But strange to say that the whole temple is suspected to have been a Śiva temple in which Rāṅganātha or Anantapadmanābha was installed after widening the gate of the *garbhagṛha*.⁷

The sleeping image common in the temples described above, is called Rāṅganātha. According to Hindu Iconography the image of Rāṅganātha, like that of Yogaśayanamūrti, necessarily requires its eyes " somewhat opened " ⁸. This is a further corroboration to our statement made before that the ' sleeping Viṣṇu ' is not in fact sleeping but simply lying. And this lying posture of the image is one of the main requirements of Nārāyaṇa⁹. Nārāyaṇa is ' one who lies on water '. Lying is his original position. An account in the third *adhyāya* of the *Śrī-rāṅgha Mahatmyam* narrates a story which says that Brahmā, after knowing the innumerable deceptive forms of Rāṅganātha, wanted to see him in his own form. And so he

¹ *Ibid.* 1931, p. 149, Cf. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXIII, p. 107, XXII, p. 180, Moore, *Manual of the Trichinopoly District*, p. 9, Newell, *Trichinopoly*, p. 2.

² *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXIII, p. 108.

³ *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 179, Gundappa, *op. cit.*, p. 120, Krishna, *A Guide to Mysore State*, pp. 77-78. Cf. *Gazetteer of the Trichinopoly District*, I pp. 6, 319.

⁴ Krishna, *op. et loc. cit.*, Gundappa, *op. et loc. cit.*

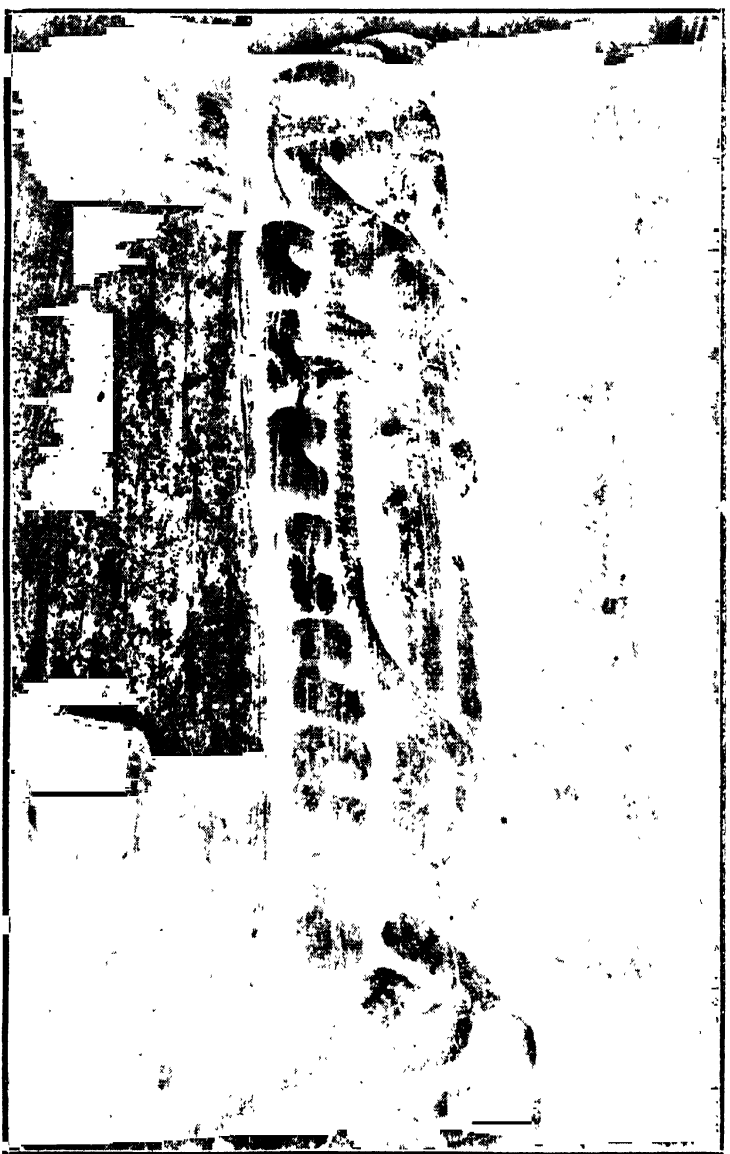
⁵ *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XXII, p. 179.

⁶ *Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, 1935, p. 56

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 80,

⁸ Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, part 1.

⁹ Keny, *op. cit.*, p. 251.



(Fig. K)

Amantastuvata in the cave of Udayagiri, Dist. Bilaspur, Orissa.

appeared in this reclining posture'. Moreover all the three places of enshrinement of Raṅganātha, as described above, are islands. There is water all around the images of Raṅganātha. Raṅganātha is as if lying on water. He is the same as Nārāyaṇa who in turn is the proto-type of the historic Śiva².

The main shrines of the Shore-temple and the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa of Mahābalipuraṁ, representing Śiva with Skanda and Pārvatī, the name Śiva-samudraṁ where one of the three Raṅganāthas is enshrined and the suspicion of scholars to think the Raṅganātha temple of Seringapatam to be originally a Śiva temple, all these together go to corroborate our identifying the 'sleeping' image of the so-called Anantaśayana (Viṣṇu) with that of Śiva, and that Nārāyaṇa is the Aryanised form of the non-Aryan god Śiva.

To our knowledge similar images of Anantaśayana without Brahmā seated on the lotus rising from his navel, are found also in the cave of Udayagiri at Gwalior,³ (Fig. K). Marai of the Haihayas of Tripuri,⁴ and the Undavalli temple of the Guntur district.⁵ But the last representation depicts, very probably for the first time, the image of Brahmā seated on the lotus, but not yet attached to the navel of the reclining figure.

The slow and gradual change from the representation of Śiva to that of Śeṣaśāyī (Viṣṇu), or in other words, the gradual Aryanisation of the image, could also be studied from the above representations under study. We find that in the beginning there was no Brahmā represented at all. Then there came into existence, in course of time, the representation of Brahmā and Viṣṇu as subsidiary gods and as the attendants of Śiva, represented to his right and left side respectively, but much smaller in size compared to the size of Śiva (Fig. B). Even the position of these two deities is represented according to a passage of the *Mahābhārata* which states that Śiva created Brahmā from his right side and Viṣṇu from his left side.⁶ And with the gradual increasing Aryan influence in India, Brahmā became more prominent and so secured a central position just

¹ Taylor, *Oriental Manuscripts*, III, pp. 132-33.

² Keny, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

³ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior, State for 1932-33*, pl. VI, a.

M. A. S. I, No. 23, pls. XLII, a, XLV, b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 17, pl. XII.

⁶ *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanā Parva, 940: योऽसृजद्भक्षिणावृक्षात् ब्रह्माणे लोकसम्भवं ।

ब्रह्मपाशाक्षिणा विष्णुं लोकरक्षार्चनीधरः ।

above the sleeping deity, but not directly connected with his navel, as is seen in the Undavalli cave representation (IA). The origin of Brahmā from the navel of the sleeping Nārāyaṇa—who also in turn was identified with Viṣṇu—due to increased Aryan influence, is the final stage of the slow process of the Aryanisation of the representation of Nārāyaṇa (Śiva), and later the complete transformation of the same to the image of Viṣṇu. And there seems to be nothing strange in such transformation of Śaivite temples and shrines to Vaiṣṇavite ones, as there are several other examples also where the shrines have lost entirely their original identity and form of worship, and were, later on, worshipped as absolutely different deities than their original forms. To illustrate this change we could refer to the idol worshipped at Nāthadvāra in the Udaipur State. Though it is now worshipped as Kṛṣṇa, it was originally the image of Bhairava.¹ In Chicacole the temple of Śrī Kūrmakṣetra which at present enshrines a tortoise and is worshipped as Viṣṇu, was formerly worshipped as a shrine of Mahādeva². In the famous place of pilgrimage on the Tirupati Hill, an image of a boar is converted to and worshipped as Bālājī³. The temple also is considered by some to have been originally a *Devī* temple and was converted, later on, into a Viṣṇu temple⁴. Even now the Vaiṣṇavas consider the deity of this temple to be Viṣṇu, while the Śaivas contend that it is Śiva or Subrahmaṇya⁵. The Viṭhobā of Pandharpur was also originally a Jain saint converted later on by the Brāhmaṇas⁶. Even the image of Narasimha in the temple on the top of the hill Sirmhacalam near Vizagapatam, has a pig's snout, and not a lion's face⁷. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find the ancient Śaivite image of the Mahiṣāsura Maṇḍapa identified with Viṣṇu or Śeṣaśāyī.

We have ample reason, therefore, to maintain that the so-called image of Anantaśayana without the Brahmā rising from its navel, is the original representation of Śiva. (Nārāyaṇa), and the addition of Brahmā seated on the lotus and attached to the navel of the reclining figure, is the Brahmanization of the same image.

¹ IA. M. A. S. I., No. 17. pl. XII. Govinda Das, *Hinduism*, pp. 188-89.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 270.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Stevenson, "On the Intermixture of Buddhism with Brahmanism in the Religion of the Hindus of the Dekkan", *J. R. A. S.*, (O. S.), VII, p. 6.

⁷ Govinda Das, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

“VEDIC GODS - V - RUDRA / KĀLĪ”

BY

HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH, B.A., (Bombay, 1).

Section V: Rudra (paras 88-141) :—

(88) Introductory: The present article¹ is in continuation of the four sections of the “ Vedic Gods ” published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in its Annals (May-1936) in Vol. XVII, Part 2 on pp. 97-176.² The data adopted are from the “ Vedic Mythology ” of (late) Prof. A. A. Macdonell (referred to as Mac.). In addition to that book, another article “ Studies on

¹ This article was read before the Eighth All India Oriental Conference, Mysore, on 31-12-1935. The reader may well consult its synopsis printed in the “ Proceedings and Transactions ... ” of the Conference on its pp. 41-58, published by the Mysore University in December 1937.

The original article was improved and enlarged upon soon thereafter. For the Table of contents and Index of this article see para 173. Quotations from texts will be found at relevant places.

“ Vedic gods I-IV ” is printed in the A. B. O. R. I. (Poona) in Vol. XVII, Pt. II, on pp. 97-176, January 1936 and published in June 1936. It contains paras 1-87 with appendix, quotations and eight star maps. All references given in para 87 hold good for this article. The reader should acquaint himself with all the sections with the star maps to appreciate present investigations. Reference has been made to other articles of the author “ Virgin Birth and Nativity ” (read at the Oriental Conference at Baroda, 1933) and “ Son of Man: Miracles and Betrayal ” (read at the Oriental Conference at Mysore, 1935). Both of them are now printed as “ Two Gospels, ” in the Silver Jubilee Volume of A. B. O. R. I. (Poona-1942), in Volume XXIII, Pts. I/IV, pp. 465-479.

² Some of the salient facts of the previous four sections in paras 1-87 needs repetition. The old Vedic calendar as determined in Section II holds good. The Vernal equinox is in the 70th space of Āśvinī (Regent-Two Āśvins) (cf. Star Map No. 5): the Autumnal equinox is in the 24th space of Svāti (Regent-Regents Vāyu) (cf. Star Map No. 6): the Summer solstice (Table III) occurs in the 47th space of Puṣya (Regent Bṛhaspati) when the Yuga with the rainy season commences; cf. star Map No. 6. The calendar is stellar (vide tables; Sec. II). References to Soma and to Soma sacrifices

(continued on the following page)

Rgvedic Deities Astronomical and Meteorological" published in the J.A.S.B. (Calcutta, New Series), Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (1932-33), pp.1-122, by (late) Sjt. Ekendranatha Ghosh (referred to as "Gh.") is used for additional data over and above those of para 87.

The summary in paras 89, 115, 124-125, 141 and 153 will explain the matter of this article.

It need not be stressed that while strictly conforming to data and texts, the interpretations and conclusions are independent of any authority, ancient or modern.

(89) Rudra / Kālī = ? : Now in this section, we consider Rudra at the summer solstice, the phenomena of rains, the loss of shadow the heliacal rise of the star Sirius (A-Canis Majoris) at that time, the Pusa stars and in their proximity, the Āslesā stars which mark the hood of the serpent-demon Hydra (whose regent God is Sarpa) and which serpent terminates at the autumnal equinox in Śvāti portion (cf. Star charts Nos. 3 and 4). Consideration of all these factors along with those of the section IV, leads us to the *basic conceptions* underlying the god(s) Rudra(s), at Solstice and at Autumnal Equinox, Vasu, Kālī (= Agni?) wife of Kāla-Light, the Prime Effulgence, and the cosmic original LIGHT as conceived by the Vedic seers. Further researches now make it possible to explain and to add to what was told at the end of the IVth section (para 85) relating to Rudra (cf. Star Chart No. 1.).

Kālī = ? : Lunar Lights : The fourth section dealt with stellar lights and their connection with the Calendar; with the

(continued from the previous page)

(Section IV) are mainly with reference to the (stellar) Autumnal Equinox at Divine Evening (cf. Star Map No. 7). The nature of "Āpah" is Light (not water) - vide sec. IV para 57, the divine stellar light (Paras 11-12). The remarks hold good as to Agni, representing on earth the stellar lights and all lights and hence its consequent central worship in the Vedas (paras 79-81).

The first section dealt with the basic conception of Gods Varuṇa, Mitra, and Sun (paras 1-10 and 11-12). The second section dealt with the old Vedic Calendar as determined from various authentic evidences (Paras 13-41 with four tables). The third section dealt with gods (goddess) of the Vernal Equinox - Āśvins and Uṣas (paras 42-44, 87 and Table III). The fourth section dealt with the gods (goddesses) of the Autumnal Equinox and of the intervening period. (paras 45-85, 87 and Table III). The summary of these four sections is published by the Baroda Oriental Conference (1933) in its volume on pp. 125-130, of "Proceedings....." in Dec. 1935.

terrestrial light Agni and the resultant worship. The present investigations lead us to the *original* light, beyond the terrestrial and stellar lights, to the original light as the Vedic seers conceive it to be. They show that the original light is the "AJĀ" the never born or rather the ever born, with reference to gods Pūṣan, Savitr, Prajāpati and Hiraṇya Garbha: all these gods figure around the *lunar orb*, around the *lunar light* and into its component light that is originally beyond any form. They bring out the *central position of moon* in the Vedic conceptions (paras 142-152) where *Light* is the main consideration, through its Ajā, which is the Śoḍaśī in moon as it is styled later on and which is one of the *triad* of Light in the lunar orb.

Ojas: This section (V) deals with the Light Kālī and with its inseparable associate the Rudra. Rightly or wrongly, the Light has been characterised as a *female* and therefore, the consideration of Female divinities and of (post-vedic) heroines enter into this section when " Kālī " is considered. In a similar manner, rightly or wrongly the Śaṅku has been characterised as a *male* and accordingly the consideration of the male divinity or of the (post vedic) heroes forms a central topic in this section around the real Rudra or Śiva. These introductory remarks will enable the reader to follow the trend of the present investigations. For a fuller comprehension of *the truth*, we have to dispossess our mind of both the female and the male *forms* (they are only conventions-संकेत) and as told later (para 172), the element " Ojas " (in heart) comes to be the much coveted light in both the male and female forms *without distinction*. To turn to the details for the Vedic facts in the following paras :

(90) Seasons : Stars : From the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya (vide Sec. II) we learnt that the year ended with the full moon in the month Āṣāḍha (" कर्मसंवत्सरः । तमाषाढीपर्यवसानम् ॥ "),¹ that the midday shadow was lost in that month (" आषाढे मासि नष्टच्छाया मध्याह्ने भवति । ") that the next two months were of the rains (" श्रावणः प्रोष्ठपदश्च वर्षा । वर्षादि दक्षिणायनम् ॥ ") and that with rains in the Śrāvaṇa month the sun began its southern course. It is the summer solstice and

¹ of. A. B. O. R. I. (Poona) Vol. XXI, Parts III-IV (1941) pp. 264-265 the article " A controverted reading in Meghadūta ", by the Author.

it is then *Puṣya* constellation (*yogatārā*, Delta Cencri) whose regent is God *Brhaspati* (vide tables 1--IV, Sec. IV. pp. 162-165) who is invoked for rains:- " *Brhaspati* is besought to cause the cloud to rain and to send the *rain charged cloud*. (X, 98, 1, 8)" - Mac. p. 83. It should be noticed that it is not *Āśleṣā* that is connected with rain; its regent *Sarpa-Hydra* (vide Sec. IV) *starts obstruction* and *Brhaspati* (*Agastya-Canopus* with the *Saptarṣis*-vide Sec. IV) and others fight this opponent. Rains begin with *Puṣya*.

(91) *Puṣya-Brhaspati and Sirius* : The stars of *Puṣya* and the heliacal rise of star *Sirius* (*Mṛga-Vyādha* : vide para 95) at this time are picturesquely represented—" *Bhūtavān* pierced *Prajāpati* with an 'arrow' and having done so, went up (became a heavenly body). He was *now* named *Mṛga-Vyādha* ; or the hunter of the deer. The female deer became the *nakṣatra Rohiṇī*. *The arrow became three knotted*. (AB. III, 33)" — Gh. p. 64. We read in another book " *Popular Hindu Astronomy* " (Hare Press, Calcutta, 1905-Vol. I, pp. 161-162) by S. Kalinatha Mukherji (referred to as 'Muk.') that " *Lubdhaka* is also - called *Tisya* (तिष्य) the 'burning' or the bright one' and is said to be an archer. " कषाणुमस्त्व तिष्यं सधस्थ आ रुद्रं रुद्रेषु रुद्रियं इवामहे । " X, 64, 8. - " We invoke to our gathering place, the archers *Kṛṣānu* (*Brhaspati*) *Tisya* and *Rudra* strong amid all the *Rudras*" - Griffith. " *Kṛṣānu* may be even *Indra* (Mac. p. 74) or *Agni* : but what is remarkable is that this text connects *Rudra* with *Puṣya* which is another name of *Tisya*. The deer herein seems to be a reference to " *Mṛga* " = *Orion*. We read in the *Sauptika Parva* of *Mahābhārata* (Ch. 18, 13-14) the same exploit of *Rudra*—" ततः स यज्ञं विव्याध रौद्रेण हृदि पात्रिणा । अपक्रान्तस्ततो यज्ञो मृगो भूत्वा स पावकः । स तु तेनेव रूपेण दिव्यं प्राप्य न्यराजत । अन्वयिमाने रुद्रेण युधिष्ठिर नभस्तले " ॥ So too in *Raghu-Vaṁśa* (XI, 44) — " विद्रुतक्रतुसृगानुसारिणं येन बाणमसृजद्वृषभध्वजः ॥ " The arrow is taken to be the central stars in *Orion* (after the imagery of ' *Mṛga* ') ; but from what will follow (para 92) it will be evident that the ' *Bhūtavān*,' is *Rudra* in a different form (para 98) and accordingly, the knotted arrow in that connection refers to 3 *Puṣya* stars (vide table II). The stellar form of this episode is evidently referred to by *Kālidāsa* in *Śākuntala* 1, 6

“रुष्णसारि ददश्चक्षुस्त्वयि चाधिज्य कार्मुके । वृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पद्यामीव
पिनाकिनम् ॥”—it is here Sirius (stellar form) following the Orion.

(92) Rudra : Ruins, Loss of Shadow, Atlesā : Another phenomenon of the time is the loss of light and the commencement of rains with the loss or the complete merging of shadow with reference to Śaṅku (— the type of Samrāt Yantra at Ujjain)— (vide II) when the sun attains its maximum declination in the north (over Ujjain) and when it is the *divine* midday. In Hāridrava a recension of Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, a passage means that “Rudra *repented and shed tears* after having pierced the father Parjāpati with an arrow. “—Gh. p. 83. This description connects Rudra with Puṣya (shape of arrow—vide Table II, Sec. II) and the rainy season (‘ shed tears ’) with this asterism.

(93) “The inauguration of Rudras in the midday and the mid-day libation for Rudras (SB. XIV, 1, 1, 15; TB. 1, 5, 11, 3)” Gh. pp. 83, 86, connect Rudras with the commencement of Yuga at Puṣya when it is divine midday at the summer solstice. Rains then begin : “ Rudra makes the streams flow over the earth and, *roaring* moistens everything (X, 92, 5)” —Mac. p. 75. This connects Rudra with rains and, as the instrumental god to rains (and accompanied thunders), with a *roar* (‘*ru*’). It is natural that “ He is also invoked not to deprive one of the sight of the sun. (II. 33, 1) ” Gh. p. 80. “ Rudra is said to pour down rain from the firmament with the help of the Maruts (X. 92. 9) ” ... “ and that Keśin drank water in the same ‘*pot*’ (H. vide Vedic gods, para 154) with Rudra. (“ X. 136, 7) ” — Gh. p. 80. “ Rudra marks the fall of Keśin’s chariot. (AV. XII, 2, 18) ” —Ch. p. 81. ‘ Keśin ’ represents Hydra (vide, author’s “ Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa ” to be published in the A. B. O. R. I., Poona). This position of Hydra at Puṣya (vide map No. 6, section IV) and the heliacal rise of Sirius seem to be responsible for the intertwining *serpent(s)* round the neck of Śiva,¹ and in

¹ Rāvaṇa : The association of Āśleṣā (regent Sarpa-Hydra) with Rudra (—Śaṅku-Śiva) at this season is differently represented in different places. In the epic Rāmāyaṇa wherein Rāma represents Sun, the loss of Shadow at the summer solstice is the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa (Hydra) whereafter the rainy season comes. The heroine is carried to Laṅkā (Svāti region — all golden in

all other forms connected with this god or of his consort. Fall of Keśin's chariot seems to be its completed setting (in the rays of the sun). It is then the northernmost point in the course of sun - and "the abode of Rudra in these later texts is commonly regarded as in the North." -Mac. p. 76 (vide para 101). The phenomenon then is the loss of shadow-light on the Śaṅku: "Under the name of Mahādeva he is said to slay 'cattle'. (TMB. VI, 9, 7, - "Rudra is said to have killed the 'cow'; TMB. VI, 9, 7 - Gh. p. 81) -Mac. p. 76. Thus Rudra's cow-slaying man-slaying missile (II, 33, 1) -Mac. p. 75 is referred to. 'Cows' are light or shadow (Prabhā) (vide IV). Thus here is a very distinctive characteristic of Rudra which enables us to comprehend that god (para 98) by the loss of shadow. But most of the references (previous to para 92) emphasized the stellar character - Sirius - along with the time of the Summer Solstice and the then prevailing season: we take notice of some more of that type before we dwell upon the significance of the data of this para.

(94) Sirius: Gaṅgā: "Rudras have Aditi as their mother" (VIII, 101, 15)" [Gh. p. 80] seems, with reference to the Śaṅku,

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color) and Rāvaṇa is a devotee of god Śaṅkara. Sītā is first traced by Hanumān (Svāti - Son of Vāyu, regent of Svāti) who gives her the ring (= Agastya star - Canopus). The golden Laṅkā and the burning of Laṅkā are the picturesque depictions emphasising the golden-red color of the star Svāti, and end of the site and residence of 'Rāvaṇa'. Hydra terminates at that place, suggestive of the Autumnal Equinox.

¹ Bhīṣma: Several conceptions have crystallized around the star Sirius and the adjacent Milky Way in and outside India. The Son of Gaṅgā (Aditi) is a great character as Bhīṣma in the Mahābhārata. John the Baptist 'always baptising' (rainy season at the heliacal rise of Sirius) on the river Jordan (Milky Way) is another great conception in the Gospels. (cf. practice of pouring continuous stream of water on Śiva-līṅga in Śiva temples).

The Polar longitudes of Puṣya and Āśleṣā stars are very nearly the same. (This fact seems to lead to a combination of 10 heads of Rāvaṇa out of 3 stars of Puṣya and 7 stars of Āśleṣā). Their association at the summer solstice with the season enters into the depictions. According to Śalyaparva in Mb. Ch. 35, it is Puṣya constellation when the parties divide and camp for 'wār' and when Balarāma leaves for the 'pilgrimage'. We notice serpents

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to be the heliacal rise of the Milky Way (Aditi, regent of Punarvasu - vide Section IV) when the sun is in summer solstice point, commencing the Yuga. This fact of Ganges rising heliacally at the time might be the source of the imagery of Ganges on the head of Śiva in his braid.

(95) *Rudra : Sirius* : There are yet some more indications towards the stellar basis of Rudra, "Rudra shines like the brilliant sun, like gold (I, 43, 5)" "... His back is red (AV. XV, 1, 7-8." Mac. p. 74. "He is brilliant (I, 114, 4-5; V, 42, 11 etc.): he lives in the heaven (I, 114, 5; II, 33, 15)" - Gh. p. 79. "*Mṛga-vyādha (Sirius) is Rudra (AB. III, 33)*" Gh. p. 82. "He is of a whitish color (II, 33, 8) and is also reddish brown (II, 33, 5, 8, 9 etc.)" Gh. p. 79.

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around the neck of Śiva : and Ravana is a devotee of Śiva. In the life story of Bhīṣma, we see his close association with *Duryodhana* and the "100" Kauravas (the 100 'forts' - 'Durga' - of Vedic Vṛtra and 100 brethren in the Mb., the 100 stars of the 'evil' Hydra). As to *Karna* etc. vide note to para 99. The commentator of Amara° on I, 7, 20 cites Hemacandra "भीष्मे रुद्रे च गाङ्गये.....इति हैमः ।" Amara° I, 30, 31 says "मागीरथी त्रिपयगा त्रिस्रोता भीष्मसूरपि ।" connecting Bhīṣma with Ganges. The association of Sirius with Śaṅku is perhaps responsible for the great infusion of religious sanction and authority in Bhīṣma; and accordingly, many chapters of sound philosophy of life and on Dharma proceed from him in the Mb. when he is on the bed of 'arrows'. The period of 56 or 58 days on this bed (Mb. Śānti. 51, 14; Anuśāsana., 167, 26, 7, and 168, 19-22) is really the period of days when the star Sirius is heliacally set, with the rays of Sun and in that manner symbolically on the 'arrows' (rays of sun). [Acc. to Benares (N. 25°-18') Pañcāṅga of Bāpudevaśāstri, 1-17°-33' is for heliacal setting and 3-15°-38' for the heliacal rising of Sirius; and Puṣya asterism rises when it is 3-15°-3' in East]. The end of Bhīṣma comes with the northernmost course of Sun, when Sirius rises heliacally; the terrestrial portion in the form of Bhīṣma is then liberated towards his prime source in Sirius. It will be noticed that the old calendar (sec. II) holds good in these lores. We may also note that the calendar develops into five "husbands" of the heroine as we see in the article later on (para 156). It is very likely the "5 tribes" alluded to in the vedic depictions. The five tribes offer their sacrifices to the Mitra, regent god of Śaṅku (sec. I) "मित्राय पञ्च येमिरे जना अभिष्टिशवसे स देवान्मित्रान्मिभर्ति" RV. III, 59, 8.

As to the "arrows, spears, swords" as rays, we notice when we treat the weapons of the Divine Female and of Male. We may take a note as to how we find them in the Gospels. In Mt. XXVI, 45-47, we read: ... behold

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The star Sirius has been changing colors: it is a matter of ancient observation. To-day, it is blue. Once it was red or 'blue-red' as noticed by Kālidāsa—"ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भव परिगतशक्तिराम्बुः ॥" Śāk: VII, 35). In section IV (para 85, footnote) we noted the red colour of Sirius and its effect, (of sacrifice of 'red' dogs) on the Egyptians. We may add other testimony to its ancient redness. "The redness of Sirius, says Seneca (B. C. 67), is so strong as to exceed that of Mars: and Claudius Ptolemy (A. D. 130) says, it was the same colour as Cor. Scorpii [H. "Antares" = 'पारिजात'] (R. Brown. II, 124) " -Muk. p. 161. Thus 'Rudra (Sirius) shines like the brilliant sun, like gold' (Mac. p. 74).

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the hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is 'betrayed' unto the hand of sinners. Arise, let us be going: behold, he is "at hand" that betrayeth me. And while yet he spoke, lo, Judas, "one" of the "twelve" came, and with him a great multitude with 'swords and staves'. This passage describes the nearing annual heliacal setting (= betrayal) of Canopus-Agastya Star [= 'Son of Man: cf. "Maitrā Varuṇa" for Agastya: Amara. I, 3, 20; vide author's article "Son of Man" at the approach of sign (one of the 'twelve') Taurus (= "Judas"), the "swords and staves" being there the rays of the Sun. The "Nīstrīmśa" for the sword along with the "Candra-hāsa" (para 144) and the "Pavi" (para 167) will show how the swords and spears stand with reference to light and so "Śara" with reference to the 'Śara Pañjari' Bhīṣma in the Mb.... The narration of the water-sprout (milky way) in the mouth of Bhīṣma by the 'arrow' of Arjuna (Son by Indra, regent god of Sun) seems to be a vivid depiction of the fact of the star Sirius on the Milky Way, reminding us of their longitudinal values.

John the Baptist: We may take here a brief note about *John the Baptist*. Mt. III, 11-12 informs us:- "I indeed 'baptize' you with 'water' unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy "Ghost" and with fire; whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly cleanse his "threshing floor"; and he will gather his wheat into the garner, but the chaff he will burn up with unquenchable fire." Mt. XI, 18-19 tell us:- "For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say *He hath a devil*. The Son of Man came 'eating and drinking' and they say, 'Behold, a gluttonous man, and a winebibber', a friend of publicans and sinners:" Mt. III.13-17 tell us of the baptism of Jesus by the Baptist. "And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straight away from the 'water': and lo the heavens were opened unto him..." From John I, 35-42 we learn: ".....John was standing, and two of his disciples; and he looked upon Jesus as he walked, and saith, Behold, the "Lamb" of "God"; And the two disciples heard him speak, and they

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(96) Rudra-on Earth: In the above passages, we read in one place that Rudra went to heaven as a hunter following the deer. But there are other descriptions which would tell us something contrary. It looks therefore that we have still to investigate into the basic foundation of this god, which is consistent with the descriptions and with reference to star Sirius. We learn that: " *When the gods attained heaven, Rudra remained behind.* (SB. I, 7, 3,1.)" Mac. p. 76. This points out that Rudra is *primarily an earthly character* and *secondarily a stellar one* although the god is associated and identified with Sirius and with the seasonal phenomena of the summer solstice.

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followed Jesus. And Jesus turned, and beheld them following, and saith unto them, What seek ye? And they said unto him, Rabbi (which is to say, being interpreted, Master), *where abidest thou?* He saith unto them, Come, and ye shall see. They came therefore and saw *where he abode*; and they abode with him that day: it was about the tenth hour. One of the two that heard John speak, and followed him, was Andrew, Simon Peter's brother. He findeth first his own brother Simon, and saith unto him, *We have found the Messiah* (which is being interpreted, Christ). *He* brought him unto Jesus. Jesus looked upon him, and said, *Thou art Simon the son of John: thou shalt be called Cephas* (which is by interpretation, Peter).

From the two articles " Virgin Birth and Nativity " and " Son of Man: Miracles and Betrayal " of the writer, the reader will see that Peter is representing the sign Gemini which sign contains the longitudes of Sirius and Canopus stars according to Ptolemy. The next in order is Cancer which is represented by Andrew, the star Sirius rising heliacally therein being put as a communion between the Baptist and his disciple Andrew who 'hears him'. The heliacal rise of Sirius precedes that of Canopus which is narrated as ' he who comes after me... ' ; the time of the latter being the Harvest time in September when sun is in Virgo - ' fan...threshing floor...Wheat...garner ...chaff etc. '. The hot season and the wet one are respectively those when the earth is parched and then flooded: so ' John came neither 'eating' nor 'drinking, ' it being hot season; the plenty of the harvest with the heliacal rise of Canopus (Son of Man) is represented by the 'gluttonous' (of the fat and sweets-eating Gaṇeśa = Canopus: para 160) and 'wine-bibber' [the resumption of Light-shadow after the rainy season; *the light by its redness is symbolically likened to 'wine'* (सुग्गा Fem. of सुग्- light-god)] as in the characterization of Balarāma (it is another imagery after Śaṅku) addicted to " wine " - Light, (of. ३५° 51) resorting to ' Sarasvati river- somewhat equinoctial star Citrā. At the end of wet season (when Jesus was 'baptized') heliacal rise of Canopus (Jesus) follows in sign Virgo (went up straightaway from water: and lo the heavens were opened

(concluded on the following page)

(97) He cannot be Brhaspati or Indra or Sun since " *He does not engage in conflict with the demons* " Mac. p. 74 (vide notes on Rāvaṇa to para 92, and on Bhīṣma to para 94, for ' arrows ') although " He is usually said to be armed with a bow and arrows. (II, 33. 10, 11; V, 42, 11 ; X, 125, 6) " Mac. p. 74.

(98) *Rudra : Kālī = Śaṅku : Light* : We are told that " *He is bent to one side* " बङ्कु (1. 114, 4) " Gh. p. 79, which description suggests to the writer to point to his being the Śaṅku-Gnomon of the Samrāṭyantra type, *bent to North, inclined to the Pole Star-Dhruva* (Varuṇa, vide I). Since the stellar world (as in para 92) is out of question, the earthly associate of Sirius at the summer solstice, ' killing the cows (shadows) ' is none else than Śaṅku, with the ecliptic as its ' bow ', which bow seems to be none else than the Pāśupata (of the lord ' Pāśupati ') given by Śiva to Arjuna (son by God Indra). He can be none else than

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unto him). Water is Light (Sec. IV) and rise in Virgo leads to " Virgin " birth. In the signs Gemini and Cancer the Canopus remains heliacally set - hence the query " where abidest thou " ? from the two of them. The longitudinal connection of Gemini and Canopus develops into an instinctive mutual recognition : " Thou art Simon ", " ' We ' have found out the Messiah ". The " devil " (Hydra) keeps with the Baptist (Sirius) and when Balarāma leaves human form, the serpent form (Hydra) issues out of his mouth at the autumnal equinox. The above passages are important in more than one respect. The rendering of Light as ' wine ' explains many ulterior developments (para 145) in the later Kālī-Śakti cult, into actual wine out of this symbolical (Surā) wine. The idea of ' rising into heaven ' is around the stellar form and the heliacal rise, the idea of ' death ' being the heliacal setting (in the rays of sun) ; the moon is thus the ever nourishing light (never causing setting) : and unlike sun, it is connected with the idea of immortality as we will see in Pūṣan, Savitr and Hiraṇya-Garbha godhood but never with " death " idea out of heliacally setting from solar rays.

The shifting of emphasis from Sirius to Canopus, from the Baptist to Jesus, from Bhīṣma to Kṛṣṇa and from the Pārśvanātha to Mahāvīra Svāmī (in Jain lores, this is on moral and subjective plane) forms a chapter in itself as it would in the changes of human conditions with the changes in the seasons, and in the stellar phenomena. The above quoted passages and the incidents referred to show how the symbolical accounts develop. When the reader pursues this note once again after reading note on " अज्ञा " and अवि (in para 170) (of, " Lamb of God ") and after he has finished the article, he will realize the bearing of all the above observations. The holy ' Ghost ' is Moon and his ' fan ' is Hasta (Corvus) constellation, whose regent god is Savitr, indicative of the time of the heliacal rise of Agastya-Canopus.

Śaṅku measuring Time and as such, the Kāla, or the Mahākāla (vide maps Nos. I, II, in Sec. IV) worshipped at Ujjain (N. 24° Kaye) where the sun reaches its northernmost point and which is the conventional centre for the Indian astronomical observations (Kaye). Since Śaṅku is Rudra, the light on it is its (Rudra's) consort, the derivative sense of "Kālī", associating her with Kāla as his ' wife ' (see para 143).

But in the Vedic conceptions, "Kālī" is found to be on a still more *elemental* basis which we will see later on (paras 148 ff.). The ' bow ' of Śiva is the ecliptic which the hero Rāma (representing Sun) lifts up. The conception of Śaṅku justifies Śiva being called "Puruṣa" and "Sthāṇu". Cf. Vikramorvaśya, I. 1.

“ वेदान्तेषु यमादुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी
यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्याविषयः शब्दो यथार्थाक्षरः ।
अन्तर्यश्च सुसुक्ष्मभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्दृश्यते
स स्थाणुः स्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभो निःश्रेयसायास्तु वः ॥ ”

cf. " He remains seated on the chariot (II, 33, 11) "—Gh. p. 80.

In Section II, in the quotations "K" (pp. 159-160) from the Jain Sacred texts and from the notes thereon, we may repeat : ...

“ तथोक्तं नन्दीचूणौ 'पुरीसोत्ति संकू पुरिससरिरं वा' and in काललोक०
(pp. 125-126) “ शङ्कु पुरुषशब्देन स्याद्देहः पुरुषस्य वा ...

निष्पन्ना पुरुषात्तस्मात्पौरुषीत्यपि सिध्यति ॥ ch. XXVIII 992-93 ”.

cf. Genesis II 23, " She shall be called ' Woman ' because she was taken out of ' Man ' . " The first ' man ' is *Manu* = Śaṅku (vide Sec. IV).

(99) Rudra-A Canis Majoris-The ' Dog ' ; Vṛṣākapi = Umā :

This majesty of Rudra has another symbolical form of Sirius - the form of a dog - ' Canis Major '. " In VII, 55, 2, the dog is addressed as a *bright* son of Saramā (Sārameya) who shows his tooth, which gleams like a *lance's point* within his mouth when he would bite. Lastly, we are told (X. 86, 4) that, while Indra protects the favourite Vṛṣākapi, the Dog (a pursuer of the boar (Varāha) has bitten his ear. " —Gh. p. 63. The biting would involve the show of gleaming teeth which will point in this passage to the heliacally risen star Sirius (dog) and

his pursuit of boar will be pursuit of Hydra [according to Amara° II, 5, 2, Varāha is 'Bhūdāra' 'one who tears up earth' which, in our case, applies to the raising of its hood (आश्लेषा) above the celestial equator (Bhū-Earth-Equator) by Hydra—an idea in the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu] immediately on its heliacal rise. This dog bites the 'ear' of the Vṛṣākapi, the favourite of Indra, who seems

1 *Karna*: Like Sirius, *Śaṅku* has received very great attention in various ways and it becomes a source of a variety of imageries and of symbolical accounts. We mentioned *Balarāma* in the note on *Bhīṣma* (para 94). Here we refer to some more. The *Śaṅku* has two side-quadrants which are equatorial in character. Of the several names that grow around this side-quadrant, one prominent is the 'ear' "Karna." The (celestial) "Dog" bites this ear of Vṛṣākapi which ear shines because of the light of the sun that falls on it. Thus we get the distinctive shining earring of "Karna" in the Mb. depictions, the Kuṇḍalas. The shining armour-the ecliptic-and ear rings were gifted away by Karna to Indra, the regent god of sun, who asked for it as a 'Brāhmin'. Karna is thus very appropriately a half brother to *Arjuna* (son to *Kuntī*—the celestial equator—by Indra); it is a symbolical way of relating the equatorial quadrant to the ecliptic. The prevalence of the latter shows the ultimate solar measure in the luni-solar calendar. The quadrant gives the imagery of the 'wheel' of the chariot of Karna which gets fixed (in *Śaṅku*) in earth, the equator, when Arjuna kills him. It is then the Autumnal Equinox depiction. The birth of Karna from *Kuntī* (celestial equator) agrees well with the equatorial side quadrant and that leads to his association with the *Duryodhana*,—the Hydra, the 100 Kauravas, since the Hydra touches (Āśliṣ—thence Āśleṣā of Hydra) the equator, embracing it as it were.

Āśleṣā explains several other imageries. Rāhu, the cut off head of the demon (Hydra) who drank Amṛta (= Light, Time: vide Section IV) by 'stealth' is this asterism, the severance from the body of Hydra being done by the equator (the disc of Viṣṇu who is classically, Pole Star). The rest of the portion is Ketu, the headless body. Since Rāhu became an asterism as Āśleṣā, it became immortal. *Śakuni* who gives wicked advice to Duryodhana is symbolical of this asterism as his evil genius the other wicked portion Ketu being represented by *Duḥśāsana* dragging Draupadī along by her 'hairs'—the faded shadow—in the rainy season. The former is killed by Sahadeva (one of the 2 Āśvins) and the latter by Bhīma (son by Vāyu, regent of Svāti)—Svāti terminating Hydra at the time of Autumnal Equinox when the equatorial side quadrant figures in as "Uru"—the thigh—of Duryodhana, red color of Svāti being brought in by the 'blood' of Duḥśāsana and Duryodhana. Red color of rays as 'blood' is symbolical: but in Kāli-Śakti cult it has passed on as actual blood (para 145) and has then become a source of unthought of practices entirely removed from the originally much

(continued on the following page)

to be none else than the gnomon-Śaṅku—since the consort of this favourite is 'Vṛṣākapaī' which is a synonymn of Śrī, Gaurī and Umā according to Amara° ("वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्योः ।" III, 3, 155) and Hemacandra ("वृषाकपायी जीवन्त्यां दातावर्चुमयोः श्रियाम् इति हेमः ॥" as per commentary of Maheśvara on Amara): the close association of Śaṅku and Sun permits this sense. It may further be noted here that the consort of Śaṅku is Light under different names, one instance noted before (para 98) was with reference to Kālī. The protection of Indra will be significant if we take this story to refer to the time of the summer solstice when the sun is closest to the gnomon - the 'favourite'.

(100) To quote again from Ghosh, p. 93: "In the AV. there are three passages which definitely refer to a celestial Dog (VI, 80, 1-3). They run thus: (i) He flees in the firmament observing all things. We adore the greatness of the Heavenly Dog with this offering. (ii) The three Kālakañjas are set aloft in heavens as they were Gods. I call all these to be our help and keep this man secure from harm. (iii) Your birth is in water, your station is in heaven, your majesty is on earth and in the ocean. We will adore the greatness of the 'Heavenly Dog' with this offering." In this passage there is the fusion of Sirius, Śaṅku and the time of rainy season when Sirius is rising heliacally. 'Water' is rainy season: 'station in Heaven' is stellar (light) nature: 'on earth' then, it is Śaṅku. 'In ocean', it would then mean the mariner's compass pointing to the North (cf. "Vedic Gods" Section I).

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coveted light which is the Śoḍaśī as the reader will see when he completes his reading of the article.

The shadow at the solstice point is lost at Ujjain (N. 23°) but not at Hastināpura (vide Hasta asterism and 'Hasta'-'Kari' for elephant: cf. note on 'kumbha' in section IV, para 58), the latitude of the latter as of Delhi (or as a place near about to it) being No. 28°-30°. Part of shadow remains: Hence Draupadī is not bereft of her garments. The saving grace against this Hydra (and to the Heroine as Shadow) is Agastya (Canopus) represented through the great personage of Kṛṣṇa. It will be noticed how the background of the calendar, of the asterisms as well as of stars linger along in these symbolical depictions wherein the emotions are human but the truth is astronomical.

(101) Rudra-Rudras: Rudra as Śaṅku will explain the plural form Rudras, as Śaṅkus at different places or at the same place perhaps, to mark monthly observations (it would make then extra 11 Rudras), the singular Rudra being the imposing figure of the Samrāṭyantra Gnomon, "the chief of Rudras (X, 64, 8)" - Gh. p. 80. Rudras are said "to maintain their stations in the regions and surround Rudra (V. S. 16, 6)"; "they are innumerable on the surface of the earth (V. S. 16, 54)"; "they remain on the earth (V. S. 4, 5, 11)" - Gh. p. 81. And the Śaṅkus of the *verticle* shape may as well have been styled his subordinates, as Yakṣas [at summer solstices - at North, their chief is "Kubera" - lord of wealth (Vasus)]¹ in his service. "Yakṣa within the

¹ "Kubera": He represents another imagery after the Śaṅku of the Samrāṭ Yantra type. His three legs are just the lower portions of Śaṅku: the two legs are the 2 side quadrants on the either side of the central leg of the body of the Śaṅku. He is a keeper of 'silver and gold' which means hiraṇya, which (by color) is Light (vide para 134) which lights are later the Vasus, the eight number of Vasus perhaps representing his 8 'teeth' (cf. shining 'tooth' for star in para 99); and accordingly, he is also Dhanapati. City of Kubera is 'वसुकेसरा' - 'वसुधारा' and city of Varuṇa is वसुनगर or वसुस्थली. It may be noted how they are all linked up with light on Śaṅku. "वसुधुन" is Kṛṣṇa and "वसुधेण" is Karṇa. Since Śaṅku is mountain also (vide Sec. IV, Trita and Soma on its Summits) Kubera has his abode (in North) at Meru or at Kailāsa (= Śaṅku); and the Alakū, his city, is styled Prabhā also; and once he was in possession of Lankā also; all these point to the Svāti regions and to the North solstice point, with reference to Śaṅku. Śaṅku is prominent at both these places. (So too with Rāvaṇa). The Brahmā is the regent of Abhijit asterism (refers to Moon) and Kubera pays homage to him naturally since this asterism is prominent at the commencement of Yuga (then the moon is in Abhijit; it is then summer solstice and therefore Kubera is regent of the North; and in the Winter solstice (then the sun is in Abhijit). Since Hydra is an associate at the solstice time (vide note to para 94), Rāvaṇa is half-brother to Kubera. He (Kubera) is friend to Rudra-Śiva very naturally. His (Kubera's) deformed body is simply another view-point in respect of Śaṅku. His attendants - the vertical Śaṅkus - the Yakṣas - the celebrated one of them in the Meghadūta feels the pangs of separation like Rāma at the summer solstice (See foot-note to para 90), when the clouds appear on horizon at the mountain (Śaṅku) where Rāma (Sun) had come in exile in his sojourn - (his ayana starts from Aśvinī and ends in Svāti) - at this time, when the sun is in the solstice point, at north. The exile ends in either case at the Svāti (when lord Viṣṇu wakes up), and in case of Rāma after 14 'years' of sojourn (ayana) which are the 14 constellations from one equinox to the other. Such are the lores that have gathered around the Śaṅku and around the old calendar,

waters belongs to Rudra and the waters of the Heaven increase their flow for him (AV. XI, 2, 24)" - Gh. p. 81. The waters of the ' heaven ' are Light (vide section IV ' Āpah '), and also rains with reference to the summer solstice season. (cf. Trita in waters - in section IV).

(102) Rudra—Śiva : Rudra as Śaṅku opens up all the attributes of Rudra and Light, from the most original conception to all the subsequent developments linking up all of them. In sections I and IV, we found that Mitra and Manu were the beneficent elements growing in the Śaṅku. Yama stood more or less in the same relation but rather unpleasant in its reference to oblivion - to death. We may naturally find similar traits in Rudra, his form being that of Śaṅku. " Fear of his terrible shafts and deprecation of his wrath (Mac. p. 75)" can well be associated with the heat of summer season (the time of his polar longitude), and with the storms and floods of the rainy season (the time of his heliacal rise) and with his Time factor as of Yama. On the other hand, " He is intelligent (I, 43, 1) wise (I, 114, 4) and beneficent (II, 33, 7 ; VI, 49, 10) He is several times called ' bountiful ', mīdhvas (I, 114, 13) and he is *auspicious*, *Śiva* (X. 92, 9) — an epithet which is not even in the AV. as yet peculiar to any particular deity., " - Mac. p. 75 - these are all the pleasant attributes of Rudra as Śaṅku, herein styled Śiva, as beneficent as Mitra or Manu. The most renowned name and the auspicious characteristic of Rudra thus get established as *Śiva*.

(103) Dharma : Bull : Mouse : " Indra is in the RV. constantly designated a bull, a term applied much less frequently to Agni and occasionally to other gods, such as Dyaus (Mac. p. 22). In the AV. (IX, 4, 9) a bull is addressed as " Indra, and in the SB. (II, 5, 3, 18) the bull is stated to be Indra's form. In the Avesta the bull appears as one of the incarnations of Verethraghna, the Avestan Indra. In one of the sacrifices of the Vedic ritual, a bull also represents the God Rudra." —Mac. p. 150. However the lexicons say that the Bull and the Mouse are synonyms of Dharma and all that is good: " स्याद्धर्ममन्त्रियां गृध्रभेयसी सुकृतं दृषः ॥ " *Amara*°. I, 4, 24: " सुकृते सृषिके भेदे सुकृते दृषये

वृषः । ” Amara° III, 3, 220 ; and in its commentary, we find “ वृषो गव्यास्तु धर्मयोः इति हैमः । ” according to Hemacandra. The association of Dharma with Śaṅku (and with the Light as the consort of Śaṅku) is perfectly true. The cow means light (sec. IV). Therefore the *offspring* of cow—the ‘ bull ’ is associated naturally with acts arising out of Light or out of a desire for the same. In other words, the bull gets associated with the religious acts arising out of the measurement of time from the shadow (Light converted into shadow on Śaṅku) and Śaṅku. Ever since the time Light came to be associated with all that is best and good and with religion (=desire and action for the same light), the Bull since then acquired a sort of religious sanctity or an identity with Dharma. [As such he is placed before Rudra and Kālī—before the Śaṅku (Light gets merged in it)]. The ‘ bull ’ we find confronting the Śiva Liṅga in temples is thus *symbolical of Dharma*. The ride on bull, or resting against a bull of God Śiva or of his consort or of the goddesses as well as that of Yama [=Śaṅku (Vide Section IV)] is also symbolical of the close association of Dharma with the Śaṅku and the Light.

Here another suggestion takes effect. Since Bull is associated with Indra, and we find Bull as Śaṅku-Dharma also, Indra can be taken to be one of the representations associated with TIME and Śaṅku. The light coming from sun to be shadows on Śaṅku, will then be his Apsarases and the principal light will be, “ Indrāṇī ” his wife, at summer solstice or at equinoctial points.

(104) Dharma : Paśu : It may be that the characterization of principal stars and of Puruṣa as Paśu in the continuity of sacrifices may have led to the idea of a bull :

“ सप्तस्यास्तन्यरिधयस्त्रिः सप्त समिधः कृताः ।

देवा यद्यज्ञं तन्वाना अवध्नन्पुरुषं पशुम् ॥ ” (X, 90, 15).

We saw in the quotation from the Jain sacred text that Śaṅku is styled Puruṣa. Resumptions of sacrifices is done in Śarad-autumn, when the Saptarṣis rise (completely) heliacally—the seven logs are their symbols—and when 21 days (3 x 7) as some course (perhaps divine dusk) as we know from Raghu-Vaṁśa II, 25, are gone through - the 21 faggots of this hymn - then, at the end perhaps, it is the celebration of the Autumnal equinox (vide

para 170). The Puruṣa as Paśu reminds us of the another name of Śiva as "*Paśupati*", celebrated lord in Nepal - the Paśupati-nātha, Lord of animal or better *Lord of Dharma*.

(105) *Dharma: Dog*: Of the five heroes of Mahābhārata, the one born of Yama-Dharma is Yudhiṣṭhira, 'steady in fight', which is another concept of the gnomon, steady in the changing world (calendar) and under revolving sky ("cf. "He remains seated on the chariot" - para 98). At the end, he is followed by a "Dog" who accompanies him all the way to the Himālaya. We may think of the Dog - A Canis Major in this connection (Paras 99-100). It is then the time of summer solstice when Draupadī - "Kṛṣṇā" - falls of first; the shadow is lost, the Mahābhārata is wound up, and the Yuga terminates at summer solstice. (cf. Mb. Mahāprasthānika Parva, Ch. III; cf. para 156).

(106) *Dharma: Mouse*: Curiously enough the mouse (perhaps through some resemblance?) passes along with bull in the category of Dharma (vide para 103: 145 and note to para 170 re. 'Avi' and mouse). This will explain the staying of the mouse near Gaṇapati as symbolical of Dharma associated with him. It then represents the plenty of the harvest and Autumn when the star - Agastya - Canopus has risen heliacally, when the Saptarṣis are so rising and when sacrifices and songs resume with the plenty of the harvest. As to Gaṇapati, we will see when we treat the family of Śiva (Para 160). The story of Sāvitrī releasing her husband from Yama refers to this same season and event when the Agastya revives-rises heliacally.

(107) *Dharma=Śaṅku=Trisūla: Cross: ♣ †*: The gnomon with its top towards north to Dhruva star, and its two side quadrants facing Sun in east and west assumes the shape of the *trident*, one of the most symbolical association of this god representing Śaṅku and Dharma. When Light stands for the same Dharma, she too comes to hold it (trident) in her hand. The Association of trident is symbolical of the Autumnal Equinox which is the principal season for harvest, worship, sacrifices and celebrations.

Christianity has adopted this (Śaṅku) as the Holy Cross: (see para 139 and 170 footnote). Thus allied with Dharma or as

instrumental to Dharma or perhaps allied to time (Kāla) as Śaṅku: "Rudra is the greatest physician of physicians (II, 33, 4)" -Mac. p. 76.

(108) Rudra - Agni - Light: Since we found Rudra to be Śaṅku associated with Dharma, his association with Agni is very natural since acts (in objective form) of Dharma are allied to *sacrifices* and those sacrifices in turn to Agni and that Agni, in its turn, to the stellar lights and to stars and thence onwards to prime effulgence. Thus we read: "In a passage of RV. (II. 1, 6), Rudra is one of several deities *identified with Agni*" -Mac. pp. 74-75. "In VS. 39. 8 Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Śarva, Īśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva and others are enumerated as gods or forms of one god. Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahādeva are names given to represent eight different forms of Agni (SB. VI, 1, 3, 7: cf. Sāṅkh. Br. VI. 1, etc.), and Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni (SB. I, 7, 3, 8)" -Mac. p. 75. Of these names many are different visible forms of light, some are symbolical of the religious acts, while some are indicative of the nature of Rudra which has impressed the worshipper most. But the identity with Agni (terrestrial light) is of great importance since that identity, with reference to Rudra means far more than the mere terrestrial form of light. In case of Rudra, the Light is released from mere terrestrial occurrence of light (in Agni) by link of Śaṅku, on to Vasu and to its stellar forms and beyond thence, on to its *celestial* form in the lunar orb, towards its prime embodiment. Before we pass on from Agni to (celestial) Light we shall have to see to the other associations of Śaṅku.

(109) Rudra And Gods: 4 Points of the Calendar: As Śaṅku, Rudra partakes the functions of Indra regent of Sun; so the bolt in hand of Indra becomes the bolt in the hand of Rudra. Since equinoxes are naturally allied to Śaṅku, the Aśvins and Uṣas of the Vernal Equinox and Maruts and Soma of the Autumnal Equinox are mentioned with Rudra. Since, rains are accompanied with storms, the Rudra (para 93) is, as it were, the progenitor of Maruts. So we read—"Rudras are mentioned several times with Indra (II 32, 2, 3)" -Gh. p. 80. Rudra holds the thunderbolt in his arm (II, 33, 3) -Mac. p. 74. "They are several times mentioned

with Agni (I. 58, 3 ; VIII, 103, 14 ; X, 32, 5) " - Gh. p. 80. "They are often associated with the Vasus" (I, 45, 1 ; II. 31, 1 ; X, 66, 4, 12 - etc.)" Gh. p. 80. (In the context of Vasu we shall explain this reference). " Rudra is used to be invoked at Dawn (Uṣas) (VS. 34, 34; 38, 16)." Gh. p. 80. " The term Rudras has been used to qualify Agni (I, 27, 10 ; II, 1, 6 ; V. 3, 3 etc.), Ásvins (I. 158, 1 ; II. 1, 6 ; VIII. 26, 5 etc.), Soma (IX, 73, 7) and *Mitra-Varuṇa* (V. 70, 2)" - Gh. p. 79. He guides in the path of Mitra (I. 2, 4:) " - Gh. p. 81. [Śaṅku cannot be without reference to the Pole Star (Varuṇa-vide Section I) and Mitra (Regent God of Śaṅku - Vide Section I)]. " Rudra is the father of Maruts (I, 114, 6, 9 ; II, 33, 1 ; I, 33, 1)" - Mac. p. 74 ; Gh. p. 79. " The Maruts are also associated with Rudra as possessing pure and beneficent remedies (II, 33, 13)" - Mac. p. 76. " Rudra is said to have his birth in the Autumn according to the conception of - *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*." Gh. p. 84. Here the connection of the gnomon to the resumption of activities of Autumn is emphasised. So at the Autumnal Equinox "Rudra is associated with Soma as a dual divinity (VI. 74), p. 129" - Mac. p. 76. " Soma - Rudra are invoked to drive away sickness and delay from the house, to place all remedies in the bodies of their worshippers, to remove from them all sins, and to free from the fetters of Varuṇa. Wielding sharp weapons, they are besought to have mercy and are implored for prosperity to man and beast. " Soma is Light and Time, at the Autumnal Equinox, with all transformations of Light: vide section IV. " Ásvins have also been addressed as Rudra-Vartman (I, 3, 3 ; VIII, 22, 1, 14)" - Gh. p. 79, very appropriately, since, Rudras (Śaṅkus) are associated with the principal calendar points - of solstices and equinoxes - of the zodiac.

(110) Svāti (= Thunderbolt = Mace) and Rudra: The thunderbolt of Indra is to be referred to Svāti, since it terminates the Hydra (Vṛtra - vide sec. IV) cf. " Indra shatters Vṛtra with his bolt (I, 32, 5 ; I, 61, 10 ; X, 89, 7)" - Mac. p. 59. The sons of Vāyu (regent of Svāti - Arcturus) hold mace as their weapon and like bolt, the mace is to be symbolically Svāti. Bhīma, son by Vāyu, tears out thigh - kills the enemy on thigh (Red color is thus emphasised by blood and red color of Svāti ; cf. the 'uru' = thigh, in the Puruṣa hymn, the side - quadrant of Śaṅku =

Puruṣa, thigh representing Equator = "Urvaśī)." — Hanumān, son of Vāyu (called "Vajraṅga" also) carried Mace. Both are associated in terminating the evil forces of Duryodhana and Rāvaṇa representing Hydra. Thus Rudra (Śaṅku) with bolt in his hand (Mac. p. 74) symbolises the Autumnal Equinox. The Natarāja carries the bolt in his left hand in the sculptures.

(111) Rudra: "Mountain" Dweller: Again, the slaying of the Dānava occurs on a great mountain. "Indra slew the Dānava, shattered the great mountain, broke open the well, set free the pent up waters (I, 57, 6; V, 33, 1)" — Mac. p. 59 (vide section IV for explanations). It looks that the solstice and equinoctial points are represented as a mountain. The mountain may be also symbolical of the Gnomon, (cf. Sec. IV, paras 50-51 — Soma on the summit of 'mountain') as *Meru* — also. And the residence of Rudra in mountain (Śaṅku: cf. the meaning of "Pārvatī") holds good in that way. "Rudra is a mountain dweller (VS. 16, 2, 3, 4)" — Gh. pp. 80-81. In the drama *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, in its first act, the meeting ground of the Gandharva and the king is on a golden mountain (which is Svāti vide "Astronomical Data ..." paper) and it represents the time and occasion when the demon Keśin — Hydra was subjugated by a missile presided over by God Vāyu, Regent of Svāti.

(112) Rudras — Śarva — Bhava = Śaṅku; Bhavānī; Pārvatī; Light = their Marriage: Śarva and Bhava are the names of Rudra as we read just now. Śarva lives and wanders beneath the earth (TS. IV, 5, 11; VS. XVI, 57) — Gh. p. 81 seems to be the southern position (declination) of star Sirius or to its being heliacally set. Bhava is said to be "living in air (VS. XVI, 55)" — Gh. p. 81 looks like a reference to the raised gnomon (the *Samrāṭyantra*), rising high into the air. "Water arises from Bhava (Kaus. VI. 2) — Gh. p. 82" seems to be a reference to the light on that Śaṅku. Accordingly, the female form *Bhavānī* does refer to the Light on the Śaṅku. The marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (belonging to "mountain" — to Śaṅku) — or in other words, — of the Bhava and Bhavānī is a glorious depiction of bringing Light to Śaṅku in the presence of the whole firmament. To follow that phase, it is necessary to understand the Female —

the Divine Female - with whom Rudra is associated. In the Vedic Zodiacal depiction, it is Vasu. We here interrupt the consideration of Rudra, to understand this consort.

(113) Vasus - Light on Śaṅku (Rudra): "They (Vasus) are brilliant (V, 41, 18)" - Gh. p. 85. " Indra is their lord (VS. 38, 8)" ... and they have been invoked with Rudra, Rudras (TS. I, 11, 13 - Gh. p. 81) and with Ādityas (VS. 21, 23)" - Gh. p. 86. These data point to the lustre of Vasus which, with reference to Indra and Ādityas, make them light of Sun and of stars (Sun is not isolated from them) received by the Rudras. " The epithet ' Vasupati ' is also predominantly applicable to Indra " - Mac. p. 63. " They have a heat giving wheel (II, 34, 9) and a beautiful and pleasant boat (VIII, 18, 7)" - Gh. pp. 85-6, seem to refer to the hot disc of the sun and to the equatorial side-quadrant (boat) of the Śaṅku on which they alight (cf. वसुधा = EARTH). " The gods are further divided into the three classes of the terrestrial Vasus, the aerial Rudras, and the celestial Ādityas invoked together (II, 31, 1 ; X, 66, 12 ; cp. VII, 10, 4 ; VII, 35, 6)" - Mac. p. 5, 130, shows the Vasus to be stellar lights that come towards the earth to the Rudras - to the gnomons and on their side-quadrants. (cf. ऋष्य = mountain). " They have been invoked with Rudra, Rudras, and with Rudras and Ādityas (ऋ° वसु° 21, 23)" " The worshipping (deserving of oblation) Puruṣa was born first and was sprinkled by the rainy season ; by him the gods Sādhyas and Vasus performed the sacrifice (A. V. 19, 6, 11)" - Gh. p. 86. The Calendar starts with Śaṅku at Yuga at summer solstice.

(114) Vasu - Agni: In later Vedic texts, Agni is the leader of the Vasus " - Mac. p. 130, shows the close connection of Vasus with Agni. " In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (III, 6-10) five groups are mentioned the Vasus being connected with Agni, the Rudras with Indra, the Ādityas with Varuṇa, the Maruts with Soma, and the Sādhyas with Brahmā (cp. RV. X, 9, 7, 16)" - Mac. p. 130. Since Varuṇa (Pole Star - Dhruva : vide sec. I) is the suzerain in the stellar world, he stands well as the head of Ādityas. As Śaṅku, the Rudras are grouped with Indra regent god of Sun. Since the prime source of light is in heavens while Agni is (light) on earth representing them, the Vasus - the

celestial lights that come down are associated with Agni also. Maruts at the Autumnal Equinox are well connected with Soma (vide Sec. IV). Sādhyas are the gods (stellar) who are nourished by the lunar light, the moon being the source of light and as such styled Brahmā (Creator). We dwell on this last aspect when we come to treat the prime Light, Vasus and solar light being developed out of that Prime Light.

(115) *Vasu and Purusa : Developments* : The worshippable Puruṣa was born first and was sprinkled by the rainy season ; by him the gods Sādhyas and Vasus performed the sacrifice (AV. XIX, 6, 11)" – Gh. p. 86. Purusa is Śaṅku¹ and here the beginning of the year (in Yuga), with the rainy season at the summer solstice is pointed out. The light coming on to Śaṅku is here glorified. The Vasus here are more as celestial lights than terrestrial like Agni. And in that way, the Puruṣa is not merely the earthly Śaṅku but the associate of the principal stars of the season, solstice and equinoxes.

(116) When one of these two (*Puruṣa* and *Vasu* as Light) receives undue emphasis in thought, we witness peculiar developments. When the Light element gets predominance over all the ideas, the Puruṣa recedes and fades away in the Light and Light takes upon itself attributes and glory of all primary as well as of all ultimate developments. We will see that later in this article (para 165); – in such a case Vasus stand midway only between the primary light and its ultimate transformations. Thus "Vasus" get lost either way in an age or in thoughts when there is no emphasis on a midway phase of Light and when primary conceptions or

¹ Vide paras 89 and 98. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (II, 20, 38) gives various measure of time from the shadow which is styled "Pauruṣi". He has given eight divisions, for the forenoon and for the afternoon. It is the body of a person (both male and female) that serves to measure time by reference to the shadow it casts. Hence 'Puruṣa' means both male and female : Śaṅku is Puruṣa but a 'male', only in convention. Similarly, Light is female but only in convention, and not as an absolute truth. The developments in religion, laws and practices dividing certain functions between male and female, assigning some exclusively to males and some exclusively to females follow only such conventions or the circumstances and not the Truth. The rigidity of conventions or of the circumstances should be ever open to revision and changes in the demands of truth, since truth is religion and not vice versa ; since human perception and its expressions have limitations (vide para 89).

their ultimate developments are in the forefront. In the same way, the physical Śaṅku gets lost when the Puruṣa idea gets magnified. The physical basis then gives way before the mental concepts of Bhakti and Yoga, starting from the uninterrupted association and 'concentration' of Śaṅku with the suzerain Dhruva, merging into the 'devotion' concept when it becomes "Bhakti", and into the meditation one whence it becomes "Yoga" line of vision. In both the cases, sacrifice - Yajña, the objective form of activity, assumes different aspects *minor* in importance. However, the steadiness of Śaṅku and the Effulgence in light persist in all the most abstract as well as the concrete aspects. Hence, of the two, one becomes Yogeśvara, and the other becomes 'Śakti'. Where the later thoughts miss their primary basis, and mutual connection, the developments and practices take to grooves far removed from either their concrete or their abstract basic conceptions. It will thus be possible to understand the change that comes over the Vedic deities later on, and at times so early as even in the later books of the R̥gveda or in the near-most growth that has followed thence. With this brief discussion on Puruṣa and celestial Light (Vasu at its one end), we revert to other concrete characteristics of Vasu.

(117) Vasu - Food: Ambā: "Vasus" cows are begged for food (V, 41, 18) - Gh. pp. 86, 87. Vasus have been instrumental as lights for the subsequent occurrence of shadow cast by the body of Śaṅku on the equatorial side-quadrant; and as light of different stars (sun is not isolated from the stellar world) at varying period of the year, Vasu shares the fruits of the activities of the period and of the seasons. Her grace is therefore sought. "Vasu seems to signify food (*anna*) in one passage (VII, 1, 2)" - Gh. p. 85.

(118) This seems to be very likely the basis of the conception of Ambā, the light as Annapūrṇā; and when sun enters Virgo - कन्या - she is Jagadambā with plenty of harvest and with young canopus अगस्त्य. The gospelic narration of Christ with reference to food and bread will be instructive since therein the grace of light is that of Canopus - Agastya - and the season associated with that star is that of agriculture and harvest. "And as they were eating Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it; and he

gave to the disciples, and said, 'Take, eat; *this is my body*'. (Mt. XXVI, 26-27). We may read from RV. X, 125, 4 "मया सो अन्नमिति यो विपश्यति ।"

(119) Vasu: The Year Round; Formation of Calendar Points:

Since Vasus are associated with Rudras, star Sirius gets in: and with it, hot and rainy seasons: "They (Vasus) are connected with hot seasons and rains" - Gh. p. 87. We learn that "Trita yoked the horse given by Yama, Indra rode on it first, and Gandharvas held its reins, and Vasus fashioned it from the Sun (I, 163, 2)" - Gh. p. 86. Trita and Yama are aspects of Śaṅku (Vide section IV), the horse representing symbolically the Āśvini and the Vernal Equinox when calendar is formed thereby, the time being checked at the Autumnal Equinox through the Gāndharvas (Böotes with Svāti at the Autumnal Equinox - vide section IV). The connection of Vasus with Āśvini and sun seems to be the purport of the Vasus fashioning the horse from the sun allied with Āśvins. Vasus are connected with the Autumnal Equinox and as such "they have served the Maruts (VII, 39, 3)" - Gh. p. 86. Accordingly (it is like Indra) "they are said to have released the Gauri cow (IV, 12, 6)" - Gh. p. 86. At the divine and therefore at the daily daybreak "they get the morning libation (SB. XIV, 1, 1, 15)" - Gh. p. 86. Her connection with the summer solstice can be noticed with reference to the heliacal rise of the Ganges at the time. (That leads to transference of the idea of Ganges to the ecliptic later on; vide para 162).

(120) From Vasu to Terrestrial Agni: Vasus are not so much connected with earth as Agni is. Since they represent solar and stellar lights *in transit* coming from heaven touching the Śaṅku only - not the earth like Agni - she has her importance in sustaining the sacrifices and the religious acts. Thus the Vasus are intermediary between the (light) elements of (stellar) firmament and earthly (light) Agni, through the Light permitting the shadow on Śaṅku, through the calendar and through her association with the seasonal gods. That completes the picture of the Vasus. "They (Vasus) have established strength in Fire (Agni) (VII, 5, 6) "and" served the work of Fire VII, 5, 6; VII, 11, 4)" - Gh. p. 86. Mere kindling of Agni without reference to calendar points, to due time or to season or to some deity or to group of deities

would be aimless and useless ; hence the importance of Vasus for Agni with reference to the Śaṅku to elicit measure of Time : “ Vasus maintain good things (I, 9, 1) ” ... “ They are the masters of the removal of distress (IV, 27, 6) ” - Gh. p. 86. The tribute is well merited.

(121) Eight = ? : In the lexicon Śabda-Kalpadruma (cf. also Gh. pp. 86-87), Vasus are enumerated and a list of *eight* Vasus is interesting from the point of Śaṅku, Light and Calendar of the divine day. The first is ‘ Dhara ’ which means mountain (पर्वत) and as such (para 111) Śaṅku. The second is ‘ Dhruva ’ which refers to Varuṇa and to north. The third is ‘ Soma ’ who as great light and time element refers to Moon and thence to Sun, in West and East directions. Fourth is ‘ Viṣṇu ’ which refers to Agastya-Canopus (vide Sec. IV) in the southern direction.” Fifth is ‘ Anila ’ which is Vāyu of Svāti at the Autumnal Equinox. Sixth counts ‘ Anala ’ which is Agni then lighted up with resumption of sacrifices, perhaps in the proximity of or near the bottom of inclined Śaṅku. Seventh is ‘ Pratyūṣa ’ which is the divine daybreak at Aśvini, - the Vernal Equinox. And therefore, the eighth must be the Autumnal equinox at dusk (Svāti setting with Sun in West) - but here the eighth is “ *Prabhāsa* ”, and it is a reputed place of pilgrimage in West near Dvārkā of Kṛṣṇa. But its description, the ‘ Māhātmya ’, brings us back to the Autumnal equinoctial sacrifices : The list may be imperfect or untenable ; but it shows how geography gets associated with the holy conceptions and in that way, how the ‘ Tirthas ’ spring up with some corresponding name. The description in the Mahābhārata runs as follows (Mb. III, 82, 56-57) :—

ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र प्रभासं तीर्थमुत्तमम् । तत्र सन्निहितो नित्यं स्वयमेव
हुताशनः ॥ तस्मिंस्तीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा शुचिः प्रयतमानसः । अग्निषोमातिरात्राभ्यां
फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥ ”

Vedic grammar explains “ प्रभासः ” from “ प्रभा ”, the midday light at equinox, particularly one at the Autumnal equinox and which is then the equinoctial midday shadow (called “ पलभा ” from प्रभा) of the respective place. Cf. “ अजासः ” from “ अजा ” (RV. VI, 55, 6). Vide reference to ‘ 8 ’ in notes on para 101 and 115.

(122) Here we conclude our consideration of Rudra(s) and Vasu(s) with reference to their basic conceptions and as to how certain descriptions grow around them in the Vedic field or later on. It is now possible to pass on to the consideration of what have grown around them in earlier ages and in later ages. The reader will notice how between them their intermediate form (Vasus) has faded and further, what a contrast it is between the earliest conceptions around light and the later developments out of Agni; the later thoughts and practices are linked by some word or by a secondary sense of that word, to something else, foreign to the original sense or purport of the word; linked as they are either by some consideration of form or by some growth as a practice.

Now it will not be possible to give quotations at every stage. The reader may consult reliable books like " Śabda-Kalpadruma " which explain the words (and divinities) with *authentic* references and quotations; or consult some handy popular book on the subject; or some special numbers of the subject published by magazine " Kalyāṇa " (Gorakhpur-U. P.-India), particularly its Yoga and Śakti numbers, for reference to further developments of the matter; or Dowson's " Hindu Classical Dictionary ", to initiate him into the subject.

(123) Kālī = ? : In Amara° I, 1, 38, 40, " उमा कात्यायनी गौरी काली हैमवतीश्वरी ॥ 38 ॥ शिवा भवानी रुद्राणी शर्वाणी सर्वमङ्गला ॥ अपर्णा पार्वती दुर्गा मृडानी चण्डिकाम्बिका ॥ 39 ॥ (आर्या दाक्षायणी चैव गिरिजा मेनकात्मजा ॥ 40 ॥) ", the consort of Śiva bears 21 names which include names associated with variants of Rudra such as " Bhava " and " Śarva. " The consort of Kāla is Kālī who is same as ' Rudrāṇi, ' wife of Rudra, of Śaṅku, as we found him to be. From his being Śaṅku and lord of Kālī, his name as Kāla or Mahākāla (worshipped as a Jyotirlinga at Ujjain, at a good latitude for summer solstice of Sun) will be appropriate for Rudra. In Vedas, Rudra is glorified in the name of Puruṣa, while the glorification of Light would even exclude the earthly consort - howsoever magnified glory he may have - once the light is freed of her *terrestrial* form. Thus the conception of Kālī enters beyond Agni into stellar regions and thence into the varied celestial and

primary elements of Light and it invites our attention as such. Now first we put the basic conceptions in brief and then adduce data which build up those conceptions. So far Vasu(s) and Agni are concerned, we saw what different forms of light they signified. We now proceed to see what makes both Puruṣa and Light the object of Vedic celebrations, and the fulcrum in ancient religious thoughts.

(124) Prime Effulgence - Cosmic Light : Summary of Developments : The light that Rudra (Puruṣa - Śaṅku) receives is solar and stellar. The solar light (on Śaṅku) is a fusion of light of sun and of moon. It is the lunar light which makes the sun shine (paras 130-131) in Vedic thoughts. The moon is full of this light which is *Amṛta* distributed by him to the sun and to the stellar Gods which function justifies his names "Savitṛ" and "Pūṣan" (paras 126-129 and 132-134), the gods *who create and nourish*. The store (of light-Amṛta) he has is inexhaustible since it contains that elemental light which always remains and which was "never born," called - 'Ajā' - and which "Ajā" leads on the lunar orb (regent Pūṣan) in its sojourns ('अजा अश्व'), with the inexhaustible store for the benefit of the entire universe. It gives him the attributes of Hiranya-Garbha, Savitr, Prājapati and Brahmā whose only continued function is creation. Even when the orb is not in human sight, the function continues. The constant drain leaves ever behind the main part, which is the "16th" digit, the "Ṣoḍaśī" (in the moon by distribution) which is the representative of the Prime Effulgence entitling it to the name "Hiranya-Garbha," all embodiment of cosmic light. It is this element and function which render the moon 'dear to gods' - "Devānām-Priya" (cf. inscriptions of Aśoka) a name not understood as it ought to have been understood because moon was entirely forgotten. The "goat" has nothing to do with it (with "Devānāmpriya") at any stage of the conception. It is the nourishing element from first to last - it is the nourishing Light that has pervaded as the Hiranya-Garbha from Moon to Sun and ultimately to the Śaṅku, and in the terrestrial world, transformed as 'bread' (vide paras 117-118) through Vasu(s) and as the *essence*, in juice, milk, water, cereals etc. (Vide sec. IV) through Soma. Hence the worship of Kālī signifies and includes all these transformations of the *nourishing light* and of prime light itself. The above analysis, in the tabulated form, is as under :—

(125) From Infinity to Finite and back:

Prime Effulgence

... Prajapati

Hirnyagarbha

Cosmic Light

- functioning as Savitr

...

= Moon god

In moon present in Soḍasi

Moon full with Amṛta

= Aja = Prajapati

= Pūṣan god

Lunar Amṛta

- pervading the universe to
stars and to sun, as Soma

Stellar Lights

Solar Light

= Vedic Gods

- fusion of Lunar and Stellar
Lights

Lights on Śanku

= Solar and Stellar :
Śanku = Rudra :
Lights = Vasus

cf. RV. X, 125, "अहं ह्यसिः ... etc. ".

TB. I. 6. 4. 1.

(cf. RV. X. 121. "हिरण्यगर्भः सम-
वर्तते..... etc. ".

(Cf. RV. V. 82, 5; II, 38, 3-4;

IV, 53, 2, 6; VI, 67, 2; VII, 45,

1, cf. Mac. pp. 32-34, "Vedio-

Myth.; cf. Amara.° II, 9, 91 -

"Hiranya=Gold and Silver".

cf. VS. 32, 5; RV. X, 121, 2, 9.

(cf. RV. VI. 54, 3; VI. 55, 6; VI.

57, 3; VI, 53, 8-9; X, 121, 8.

(cf. RV. III, 61, 7; X, 121, 6;

VI, 53, 8; VI, 58, 1, 4., and

Mac. p. 31, "Vedic Myth." re

Soma and Sūrya. cf. V, 12, 14.

(cf. "Vedic Gods" I-II-III-IV-V.

(cf. Mac. p. 112 (ibid) - Wedd-

ing of Soma with Sūrya. (cf.

A. B. O. R. I. Vol. XXI,

Pts. III-IV, pp. 262-263 by the

author).

(cf. Rudra and Vasus - this

article.

Shadow-Time

determining calendar seasons,
days, hours, actions,
sacrifices etc.

(cf.-Sec. II " Vedic Gods " and
also Sec. IV cf. " Soma Pava-
māna ").

Kindling Agni

(on earth near Śanku) :—
Yajña, Hymns, Worship etc.
celebrating Divine grace
of Light - of Nourishing Ajā,
of Prime Effulgence (at
Autumnal Equinox, with
harvest).

(cf. Sec. III-IV " Vedic Gods ").

Cognizance in the presence of Rudra = Śanku-Purusa - Kāla.

Emphasis on the inner form of
Light = Ojas, leading to
subjective forms, back to
Prime Effulgence.

- (1) Yajñas. *Objective form of Light* = Terrestrial Agni the medium.
- (2) Regulated Life, with 4 " Purusārthas ", in 4 stages of Life
(cf. १५° I. 8).
- (3) Meditation - Yoga.
- (4) Devotion - Bhakti.

[*Note*: 2-3-4 form a circuit in society].

We shall now examine the data that underlie this table in the following paragraphs.

(126) Pūṣan - Regent God of Moon: "Pūṣan is a visible deity (" VI. 56. 4) (दक्षः)" - Gh. p. 89. " He is bright (I. 23. 14 ; VI, 48, 16 ; etc.) and called ' Agohya ' - not to be concealed " Gh. p. 89. (Re. " Agohya " see para 140). " A frequent and exclusive epithet of Pūṣan is glowing (Āghrṇi)" - Mac, p. 35. " He appears in the heaven at night towards the morning (VII, 39, 2) and goes away at sunrise (X. 139, 1)" - Gh. p. 89. Pūṣan has been called the lord of night (VI, 55, 5)" Gh. p. 90. These passages connect the God with night when he is visible and glowing. This entirely excludes Sun although, (in classical literature) the name Pūṣan has merged into the various names of Sun. But that is possible when there is some close connection between the two, in which case only, the identity is possible. " He is lauded as a dual divinity in one hymn (VI, 57) with Indra and in another with Soma (II, 40)" - Mac. p. 35. Thus the bright form - which cannot be concealed, resplendent at night and grouped with Soma and Indra (regent god of sun) can be none else than Moon.

(127) The Ajā in Moon: In VI, 53, 8/9, Pūṣan carries his ' goad ' (' ārā ' - ' Aṣṭrā ') which resembles the form of ' Go-opaśā ', in rendering which, Sāyanācārya says correctly that ' Opaśā ' is horn : and accordingly, the ' goad ' is in the form of the horn of cow. The cow is light (vide Sec. IV) ; therefore, with reference to Moon, this Go-Opaśā means the *crescent like digit* pointed at the end like a horn and rather bent like it. It is that ' goad, ' which is really ' digit ' with reference, to Pūṣan-Moon, which urges the ' Brahma ' which means prayers, Vedas, Prajāpati and in that way, the Universe. The immanence of this digit in the orb (ratha) of the moon is referred to in VI, 55, 6. It is the " Ajā " a word which is much misunderstood as goat. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad IV, 5 calls Ajā as light (vide para 145) the only one (एक) of its type, blood-red, white-black (in hues) and instrumental in creation of its like, " अजानेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सत्त्वपाः । ¹ " and it is this Ajā, the ever glowing digit that carries along this god (VI, 57, 3) while the red rays (Hari)

¹ The Ajā herein cannot be a specific goat of three hues. The meaning of Light for Ajā is therefore inevitable. Vide para 145.

carries along Indra, [('अजा अन्यस्य बह्व्यो हरी अन्यस्य संभृता । ') (for texts see paras 166 and 167)]. In VI, 58, 3 the same digits are described as the golden "boats" that ply in the inner ocean of light in the lunar orb and which roll along in sky ['यास्ते पूषन्नावो अंतः सङ्घे हिरण्ययीरंतरिक्षे चरन्ति । ']. VI, 58, 1, refers to the three aspects of Pūṣan-Moon; one bright—full with glow: the other used in sacrifice—the decreasing glow (being drunk by gods); and third, yet ever permanent (thereby he is day and night) (अहनी—ever flowing); in his all absorbing form like the encompassing sky raining gifts. He protects all the Māyās (all the transformations of prime light): he is a gift to the worlds, to the whole universe (VI, 58, 2). Thus his nourishing light makes him a most beneficent power, lord of food (VI, 58, 4) protecting animals, invigorating, and inspiring best thoughts "धियं जिन्वः" (VI, 58, 2). Cf. Sāvitrī hymn III, 62, 10 "धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्" with VI, 53, 4 of Pūṣan "साधन्तामुग्र नो धियः ।".

• (128) Ajā=Ṣoḍaśī: That permanent digit is Ajā, 'never born' and, as such, always there. Its another (technical) name is "Ṣoḍaśī"—"the Sixteenth digit" which is described in "Kāla-lokaprakāśa", XXVIII, 329-334.

“चन्द्रमासस्योपपत्तिमथ वक्ष्ये यथागमम् ॥ २९ ॥
 त्रिंशता तिथिभिः प्रोक्तश्चन्द्रमासो जिनेश्वरैः ।
 भवन्ति तिथयश्चेन्द्रोः कलावृद्धिषोद्भवाः ॥ ३० ॥
 कलाः कुर्यात् षोडशेन्द्रोस्तत्र चैका कला भवेत् ।
 द्वाषष्टिभागीकृतेषु विभागद्वितयात्मिका ॥ ३१ ॥
 अन्याः पुनस्ता द्वाषष्टिभागीकृतसितत्विषः ।
 भागचतुष्टयरूपाः स्युः पञ्चदशसंमिताः ॥ ३२ ॥
 तत्रार्थांशद्वयरूपा सदैव स्यादनावृता ।
 आव्रियन्ते च मृच्यन्ते राहुणान्याः कलाः मुहुः ॥ ३३ ॥
 कालश्चैककलायाः स्यात्पिधाने वा प्रकाशने ।
 एकषष्टिरहोरात्रास्यांशा द्वाषष्टिकल्पिताः ॥ ३४ ॥”

The 1-16th portion is *always with light* and fills the moon with light, VI, 54, 3 tells us that the wheel (moon) of Pūṣan never fails, nor does its store deplete, nor the Pavī (appear like light)

the stream of light abates ('पूषणश्चक्रं न रिष्यति न कोशोऽवपद्यते । नोऽस्य व्यथते पविः ।'). Thus "Ajā" connected with (the storehouse of) Pūṣan are never goats (छागाः) but lights (आद्यांशद्वयरूपा सदैव स्यादनाद्वता'). What is dear to gods, "Devānāmpriya", is therefore, *not the goat but the Moon*, represented by the Ajā the 16th digit - the Śoḍaśī light. Hence "Pūṣan's goat conducts the sacrificial horse (I. 162, 2, 3)" - Mac. p. 35, should be understood, in the light of VI, 57, 3 as "Pūṣan's digit (light) leads to sacrifice through light from the solar disc (cf. "भगवन् क्षपानाथ—'रविमावसते सतां क्रियायै सुधया तर्पयते सुरान् पितॄन्श्च ... विक्रमं III. 7" of Kālidāsa).

(129) Ajā - Prajāpati - Śoḍaśī; 3 Lustres : By virtue of Śoḍaśī, Pūṣan-Moon is Prajāpati, true literally and astronomically (in Vedas). "In VS. 32, 5, *Prajāpati* has been designated as Śoḍaśī ... and is said to maintain *three great lustres* (the Sun, Moon and Fire according to the commentators) ... none was born before him and that he created the whole world." ... "The intelligent people discern his origin and in him alone stand all existing living creatures (VS. 31, 19)" ... "He is born from Timely Germ laid down by the strong, self-existent first, one within the mighty flood (VS. 23, 63)" - Gh. p. 92. The mighty 'flood' is the Prime Effulgence, the timely germ being the Hiranya-Garbha, time being represented by Hiranya (vide para 134) = Light. The one born seems to be Lunar Deity. The *three great lustres* referred to cannot be decided at this stage of discussion (vide para 157). "Pūṣan is lord of great wealth, a stream of wealth, a heap of riches (VI, 55, 2, 3). ... But the prosperity he confers is not (as in the case of Indra, Parjanya, and the Maruts) connected with rain, but with *light*, which is emphasized by his exclusive epithet 'glowing'" - Mac. p. 37. Feeding the universe may very well make him old and 'Pater Familias.' In X, 121, 8, the Hiranya-Garbha is said to be the only lord who is supreme over the rest ('यः देवेष्वधि देव एक आसीत् ।') and in verse 9, he is said to have created the great lunar lights ('यश्चापश्चन्द्रा ब्रूहीतीर्जान ।'). It is he who created lights which bore Dakṣa (दक्षं 'दधाना') and which were instrumental in Yajña worship ('जनयन्तीरग्निम् ।') (8). In 2, the fact of lunar light in digits being Amṛta is stated and the 'death' (of the lunar orb -

may be symbolical of the Amāvāsyā time? or better) as its (cosmic light's) transformation into the Lunar orb is Amṛta too ('यस्य छाया अमृतं यस्य मृत्युः ।'). It is not the extinguishing death because of the immanent Ajā - of the Sōḍaśī in the moon, but it is a reflection on a change, from one indefinite form to another definite form, and which is nourishing all through.

(130) Moon : thence Sun : The prominent great lights in human affairs are *lunar* and *solar*. The Vedic conception with reference to the two assigns priority to the lunar light (Vida para 152). In III, 61, 7, the far spreading Uṣas is said to create the (daily) Sun (Sāyaṇācārya takes it to mean glow) in the way of Candrā, the lunar lights ('चन्द्रेव भातुं विदधे पुरुत्रा ।'). Candrā must have some bearing to Moon, since Moon is Hiraṇyagarbha who is putting lustre in sun who then shines when rising (X, 121, 6 'यत्राधि सूर उदितो विभाति'). "Pūṣan is said as best of charioteers to have driven downwards the golden wheel of the sun (VI, 56, 3) but the connection is obscure (cf. Nir°, II, 6)'" - (Mac. p. 35). ["And this most skilful charioteer (Pūṣan) straightaway drove that golden wheel of the Sun through the speckled cloud"]. The wedding of Pūṣan with Sūryā is a Vedic theme. "The gods are said to have given him, subdued by love, to the sun-maiden Sūryā in marriage (VI, 58, 4 'यं देवासो अददुः सूर्यायै ।')'" - Mac. p. 35. In another place, "Wedding of Soma and the sun-maiden Sūryā (X, 85)'" - (Mac. p. 112) is mentioned. Thus sun receives light. "Soma placed light in the sun (VI, 44, 23 ; IX, 97, 41), generated Sūrya (IX, 96, 5 ; IX, 110, 5), caused him to shine (IX, 63, 7) or raised him in heaven (IX, 107, 7)'" - Mac. p. 31. Like sun, Dawns also receive light from Soma : "Soma made the Dawns bright at their birth (VI, 39, 3) ,," - Mac. p. 48. So III, 61, 7 really points to precedence of moon over sun in creation and of Uṣas every day). But the *Ajā* is the *element earlier than the stage of Soma conception* : "It is said that no one eats of that Soma which the priests know and which is contrasted with that which they crush (X, 85)'" - Mac. p. 112.

(131) Accordingly, the *Soma drunk by Indra* - that alone gives him strength - is the other portion of the lunar light excludng *Ajā*. To repeat some portion from Section IV in this connection :

"So essential is Soma to Indra that his mother gave it to him, or he drank it on the very day of his birth (III, 48, 2-3; III, 32, 9-10; VI, 40, 2; VII, 98, 3)" - Mac. p. 56. This narration conveys to us two facts. First fact is the light that the God of Sun, Indra, receives from the Lunar orb started marking Time - tithi - and the second fact is the commencement of the Yuga with the first day of the dark-half, immediately after the full-moon. The moon at the time is in the Abhijit (Lyra) constellation whose regent god is Brahmā (vide sec. II). The Autumnal Equinox occurs when the three digits (tithis) of the dark half of Kārttika month are completed. Then it is Svāti at the end of Hydra stars. These facts are told herein: "For the slaughter of Vṛtra, he (Indra) drank three lakes of Soma (V, 29, 7; cp. VI, 17, 11)" - Mac. p. 56. It should be noted that the digit or the Kalā of moon is not merely a small shaped crescent - it is a lake of Soma - so vast it is. In a month there would be thus 30 digits and "He (Indra) is even said to have drunk at a single draught thirty lakes of the beverage (VIII, 66, 4)" - Mac. p. 56. As to Soma and Indra and other observations in this connection, vide sec. IV. (It is remarkable that the third act of the drama *Vikramorvaśya* of Kālidāsa is a depiction of the moment of this Autumnal equinox in the Yuga (first year) and it is then evening (pradoṣa) of Kārttika Vadi third (completed) as can be inferred from the description about the moon rising in Rohiṇī in east. (vide - "Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa"). Now we may consider the god Savitr regent of Hasta (Corvus) asterism.

(132) Savitr: It looks that some of the Vedic gods who are closely associated with Sun in one or another way, have their individuality merged in Sun in course of time. Mitra is one such instance (section I). Pūṣan is another instance. The former is closely associated with the sun as *Gnomon*: latter is sun as *moon*. Hence in tracing back the original conceptions, it appears that the list of the names of sun will get depleted. Now we have one more instance. It is the god Savitr who is 'sun' as we think of him today: but it is really the Moon who is god Savitr and as such, he is a source of Light - *Amṛta*, he is the producer and awakener ("Su") of all to life; and whose appearance marks

the time when the sun is in the Hasta (Corvus) constellation in Autumn at the divine *evening*. ('संध्य' - ' of. 'संध्यवन्दन' the moon marks human evening), associated with the harvest and with the *new* life in the grains as juice (soma) and in the whole reanimated creation. [*Sun is never the bestower of 'Amṛta,'* Indeed, we meet with the heliacal setting as "Death" in many later conceptions (vide foot note to paras 170 and 94]. The other associations of this season (as noticed before) are with the star Agastya-Canopus, with Sarasvatī as Citrā (Spica) with its regent Tvāṣṭṛ and with Svātī (Arcturus) with its regent Vāyu the last two stars rising just after Hasta stars while Hasta spaces are not over.

(133) Sāvitṛī : = ? Thus the Autumn and Savitṛ mark the time of a *new* creation of harvest after the hot and rainy seasons ; that renders " the divine grace of Savitṛ an excellent object for thought and contemplation," taking the wide range from the life-giving element of energy and juice in food on earth, upto their source in the immanent light of the moon, in the Śoḍaśī or in Ajā as it is called; and thence, leaving moon, farther beyond to the Prime Effulgence. This is how the celebration of Savitṛ really stands in the well known Sāvitṛī hymn (RV. III. 62, 9-10). It is yet premature to affirm but it looks that in the Vedic conceptions, as we gather them from the descriptions of the gods and from their actions, the orb of sun comes into existence later in *creation* after the moon; that the sun is created in Autumn by the gods: " He is said, when rising, to go to the Vṛtra-slayer Indra and even styled a Vṛtra-slayer himself when invoked with Indra (VIII, 82, 1, 2, 4) " -Mac. p. 31. We may recall here that it is " Soma who placed light in the Sun (IV, 44, 23-; IX, 97, 41), generated Sūrya (IX, 96, 5; IX, 110, 5), caused him to shine (IX, 63, 7) or raised him in heaven (IX, 107, 7) " -Mac. p. 31.

(134) Sun and Moon : Functions of Sun and Savitṛ mark a perfect contrast, which cannot be the case if they are identical although, both of them are glowing orbs: " Since his name designates the orb of the Sun as well, Sūrya is the most concrete of the solar deities, his connection with the luminary never

being lost sight of" -Mac. p. 30; he is as a steed "white and brilliant" (VII, 77, 3) -Mac. p. 31. Savitr is golden, - his arms, tongue all golden -Mac. p. 32. "Mighty splendour (amati) is preeminently attributed to Savitr, and mighty golden splendour to him only (III, 38, 8; VII, 38, 1)" -Mac. p. 32. The term for golden is "Hiranya" which, according to Amara° (II, 9, 91) is both silver and gold in its form as metal or in subsequent transformations.—"स्याकोशश्च हिरण्यं च हेमरूपे कृताकृते" । —. That goes well with lunar light which is silvery in bright half and mellow yellowish in the dark half [cf. para 127 - Pūṣan : VI, 58, 1 - "Your luminously white form is different, your sacrificing form is different; (so) your all pervading (form) (Viśurūpe); You are like 'Ahanī' - Time - Day and Night (or another sense - 'pervading') you are like heaven (from whence cometh everything - light, rains and all gifts). You protect all transformations of light..."]]. We read that "Savitr moves between both heaven and earth, drives away disease, 'impels' (Veti) the sun (I, 35, 9)" -Mac. p. 33. "Savitr declares men sinless to the Sun, (I, 123, 3). He combines with the rays of the sun (V, 81, 4) or shines with the rays of the sun (X, 139, 1; cp. X, 181, 3; I, 157, 1; VII, 35, 8, 10)" - Mac.p. 33.

(135) Day vs. Night: However, "aroused by Sūrya men pursue their objects and perform their works (VII, 63, 4)" - Mac. p. 30. "But Savitr is also sometimes spoken of as *sending to sleep* (IV, 53, 6; VII, 45, 1)" -Mac. p. 33: "He unyokes his steed; brings the wanderer to rest; at his command *night comes*; the weaver rolls up her web and the skilful man *lays down* his unfinished work (II, 38, 3-4)" -Mac. p. 34. These descriptions bring out the contrast and therefore the difference in time of their appearance; for the sun the morning (till evening), starting activity; and for the Savitr the evening (till dawn when awakening starts) terminating the day's activity for rest. "Savitr brings all two-footed and fourfooted beings to rest and awakens them (VI, 71, 2; cp. IV, 53, 3; VII, 45, 1)" -Mac. p. 34, which cannot be the attributes of the setting sun. The "awakening" here is the first rise of the universe to *existence* when referred to creation period; and daily getting up before dawn in

प्रातःकाल (para 153). "Later the West was wont to be assigned to him...(SB. III, 2, 3, 18)" -Mac. p. 34. In the invocation where both Savitr and Sun are invoked the "God Savitr has raised aloft his brilliance, *making light* for the *whole* world; Sūrya shining brightly has filled heaven and earth and air with his rays (IV, 14, 2)" -Mac. p. 33. In the last passage, we see the preeminent position of moon as Savitr at the divine evening over the sun.

(136) Savitr Hymn: RV. I, 35: The invocation in Savitr hymn (1, 35, 1.¹) invokes night (before that of Savitr) which brings the living world to their respective homes (Jagatah

Savitr: RV. I. 35.

“ हव्याम्यग्निं प्रथमं स्वस्तये हव्यामि मित्रावरुणाविहवसे ।
हव्यामि रात्रीं जगतो निवेशनीं हव्यामि देवं सवितारमूनये ॥ ” १
“ आ रुष्णेन रजसा वर्तमानो निवेशयन्नमृतं मर्त्यं च ।
हिरण्ययेन सविता रथेना देवो याति भुवनानि पश्यन् ॥ ” २
“ याति देवः प्रवता यात्युद्धता याति शुभ्राभ्यां यजतो हरिभ्याम् ।
आ देवो याति सविता परावतोऽप विश्वा दुरिता बाधमानः ॥ ” ३
“ अभीवृतं कुशनैर्विश्वरूपं हिरण्यशम्यं यजतो बृहन्तम् ।
आस्थादथं सविता चित्रभानुः रुष्णा रजांसि तविर्षा दधानः ॥ ” ४
“ वि जनाञ्छयावा शितिपादो अख्यन् रथं हिरण्यप्रउगं वहन्तः ।
शश्वाद्विशः सवितुर्देव्यस्योपस्थे विश्वा भुवनानि तस्थुः ॥ ” ५
“ तिस्रो व्यावः सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थौ एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाद् ।
आणिं न रथ्यममृताधि तस्थुरिहं ब्रवीतु य उ तच्चिकेतत् ॥ ” ६
“ वि सुपर्णो अन्तरिक्षाण्यस्यद्रुभीरिवेपा असुरः सुनथिः ।
क्वेदानीं सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतमां यां रश्मिरस्या ततान ॥ ” ७
“ अष्टौ व्यस्यत्ककुमः पृथिव्यास्त्री धन्व योजना सप्त सिन्धून् ।
हिरण्याक्षः सविता देव आगाद्धधत्ना दाशुषे वार्याणि ॥ ” ८
“ हिरण्यपाणिः सविता विचर्षणिरुभे व्यावापृथिवी अन्तरयते ।
अपामीवां बाधते वेति सूर्यमग्निं रुष्णेन रजसा यामृणोति ॥ ” ९
“ हिरण्यहस्तो असुरः सुनथिः सुमृच्छीकः स्वर्वां यात्वर्वाङ् ।
अपतेधवक्षसो यातुधानानस्थाद्देवः प्रतिदोषं गृणानः ॥ ” १०

niveśanlm'). Then follows the invocation of Savitr who (in 2) arrives, being always (vartamānaḥ,) in the (and therefore by the) *black* space ('Kṛṣṇena rajasā ā vartamānaḥ, *nivēśayan* amartyam martyam ca') laying to rest the immortal *and* the mortals [since Hasta constellation marks the divine evening, the immortals take rest: the moon brings rest in *humn evening*], with his chariot (ratha - orb) of Hiraṇya seeing all the worlds. It will be evident that this and the following description cannot apply to Sun, but to *Moon* only. In 3, the god Savitr comes by steeds which are white *and* also yellow (the terms used are Śubhra and Yajata with which we may compare "Śukra and *yajata* of Pūṣan in VI, 58, 1). The present verse describes Savitr as coming by 'pravatā' and *coming* by 'udvatā' which are usually translated - 'he "goes" by a downward, he "goes" by an upward path' - (Mac. "A Vedic Reader", p. 13); but which, considering the moon to be represented by Savitr, should naturally mean - "he comes by increasing digits (pravatā which are white as told immediately in second line) and he comes by decreasing digits ('Ud' in 'Udvatā' which are yellow as told in the second line) - for orbs as "mountains" cf. IV, 54, 5 and remarks in that connection later on in para 168. In 4, the omniform 'viśvarūpa' (cf. 'Viśurūpe...asi' re Pūṣan VI, 58, 1) of Savitr can now be comprehended. It can be none but what is meant by the Śoḍaśī by the Ajā, which lights seem to receive tributes in 4 and 5. In the 6, the three 'heavens' are therefore the three functions of moon, first of the immanent light, second of the bright fortnight and the third of the dark fortnight; the two 'laps' are the two fortnights and one (dark half? or rather Śoḍaśī) is connected with the manes [all held fast to the 'chariot' by Amṛta, like the wheel by the axle end nail]. In 7, the question is put: "*then, where was the sun?* - who divines the truth? What light (of the three 'heavens') he (Savitr) has extended to him (Sun)?" In 8, the seasonal phenomenon (of Hasta) and the glory of Savitr is proclaimed: (rains have ceased and therefore) eight directions are cleared up with the gaze of Savitr, the three regions (of Hasta, Citrā and of Svāti) and the seven 'rivers' (vide sec. IV- the seven stars of Saptarṣī), Savitr (thus) giving then all that is best. (cf. IV, 5, 4, 1 "वि को रना भजति मानवेभ्यः श्रेष्ठं नो अन्नं द्रविणं यथा दधत्" - *the*

best jewel is Agastya star). In 9, at that juncture, he brings forth ('veti = impels? - produces) the sun: the God Savitr resorts to 'dark spaces'. In 10, suppression of Hydra at that season is referred to. It is then always the divine evening time ('Pradoṣa'). He is an Asura (see para 139 for 'Sura' and 'Asura'). Savitr as moon has cleared the sense of this hymn; it will clear up many other passages.

(137) Savitr-Pūṣan: Savitr is alone lord of vivifying power and by his movements (*yāmabhiḥ*) becomes Pūṣan (V. 81, 5,)" - Mac. p. 33. The moon traverses about 13-14° a day; therefore the *strides* cannot go with sun but with digits-with moon. It looks that Pūṣan is the very concrete form relating to the daily moon from the more remote form of the moon as Savitr (सोऽसी) at creation. "Savitr is once called Prajāpati of the world (IV, 53, 2) and in TB. 1, 6, 4, 1, ... Prajāpati becoming Savitr created living being" - Mac. p. 33. "No being, not even *Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra*, can resist his (Savitr's) will and independent dominion (II, 38, 7, 9; V, 82, 2)" - Mac. pp. 32-33 tell of his eminence and differentiates him from *all* these gods. Indra is the regent god of sun (Sec. IV) and Savitr is thus different from Indra and Sun. He bestows *immortality* on the gods as well as length of life on man (IV, 54, 2) - Mac. p. 32, is clear when we refer to the creation time and thence to the Moon.

"In two consecutive verses (III, 62, 9-10) Pūṣan and Savitr are thought of as connected. In the first, the favour of Pūṣan who sees all beings is invoked, (cf. RV. VI. 53, 4 "साधन्तासुग्र नो धियः।") and in the second, Savitr is besought to stimulate (cf. Pūṣan - Mac. p. 36) the thoughts of worshippers who desire to think of the excellent brilliance of the God Savitr. "तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ।" The latter verse is the celebrated Sāvitrī with which Savitr was in later times invoked at the beginning of Vedic study." Mac. p. 33. Thus we have a grade of concepts around moon starting from the Prime Effulgence. First is Hiranya-Garbha, second is Prajāpati (which may be Brahmā as well looking to the function of creation). Savitr as a store-ever inexhaustible store of Amṛta referred to in the Sāvitrī-Gāyatrī and creating; and thence the Pūṣan with the

increase of his digits, and his daily strides (Yāmaḥiḥ) "in the heaven, nourishing all thereby.

(138) As the regent¹ of the constellation Revatī (in Pisces) Pūṣan precedes Aśvins and the Uṣas; and as moon, there is no question of his being confined before or after to any place. Thus "Savitṛ impels the car of Aśvins before Dawn (I, 34, 10). He shines after the path of the dawn (V, 81, 2)" ... "[H. before creation of Dawn; and after Dawn, after divine evening] is united with the rays of the Sun (V, 81, 3-4)." [cf. wedding of Soma with Sūryā maiden]. "His ancient paths in air are dustless and easy to traverse (I, 35, 11)" - He is prayed to convey the departed spirit to where² the righteous dwell (X, 17, 4)" - Mac. p. 32. Thus in the words of Yāska (Nir. X. 31), Savitṛ is 'sarvasya prasavitā' creator of all, the stimulator of everything" - Mac. p. 34. He is thus the source of Amṛta in the "sixteenth digit" of the moon, the first to receive the benefit of Amṛta of Moon (Sun is never a store or a distributor of Amṛta) are the gods worthy of sacrifice as told³ in IV, 54, 2 "देवेभ्यो हि प्रथमं यज्ञियेभ्यो अमृतत्वं सुवासि भागमुत्तमम् ।" In IV, 54, 5, it seems that creation of the solar orb is referred to which then becomes the "mountain" abode of Indra at Autumnal Equinox.

(139) Sura - Asura: Savitṛ is called Asura (VI, 53, 1; I, 35, 10; cf. Mac. p. 32), and so too several other gods. It now looks that the gods visible at night are 'Asuras' and the one visible at day is "Sura", the Sun. Similar such division between day and night seems to exist in the gospel narrations, wherein, the Holy 'Ghost' seems to refer to Moon [para (94) note on pp.234-6]

¹ Investigations into the regent gods at full-moon is required.

² The final rest of the departed seems to be the Candra-Loka. Cf. the practice of "Soḍaśī Śrāddha" (referred to in the lexicon Śābdakalpādruma); Cf. Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī.

³ RV. IV, 54.

"अमूर्ध्वः सविता वन्द्यो नु न इदानीमह्म उपवाक्यो नृभिः ।

वि यो रत्ना भजति मानवेभ्यः श्रेष्ठं नो अत्र द्रविणं यथा दधत् ॥" १

"देवेभ्यो हि प्रथमं यज्ञियेभ्योऽमृतत्वं सुवासि भागमुत्तमम् ।

आदिहामानं सवितर्व्यूर्णुषेऽनुचीना जीविता मानुषेभ्यः ॥" २

"इन्द्रज्येष्ठान्बृहद्भ्यः पर्वतेभ्यः क्षुर्याँ एभ्यः सुवासि पस्त्वावतः ।

प्रथायथा पतयन्तो विधेमि एवैव तस्थुः सवितः सवाय ते ॥" ५

while the Holy 'Spirit' seems to indicate Sun. The 'Father in Heaven' refers to the Pole Star (the Vedic Varuṇa) and when 'Father' alone, to the Moon at times. [Vide para 170 verses 8-10 and the note there on "Lamb of God" (John I, 29) in connection with " अजा " and " अवि "].

(140) Rbhus : Agohya : We have to refer to Rbhus again (Sec. IV. Paras 83-84) for further elucidation of Agohya. The association of Savitr with the Rbhus (of the Saptarṣi group ; vide Sec. IV) on whom this god conferred immortality - (I, 110, 2-3) - Mac. p. 32. forms a very interesting narration. " After much wandering they, the Rbhus, came to the house of Savitr who conferred immortality on them " (I, 110, 2-3 " - Mac. p. 133, " when they raised their hymns to Agohya (" तत्सविता वोऽसुतवमा-सुवदगोहा यच्छ्रवयंत एतन "). The effects of Autumn, of the cessation of rain with the reanimation of the earth and of harvest are vividly narrated as under : " When slumbering for twelve days, they had rejoiced in the hospitality of Agohya, they made fair fields and directed the streams, plants occupied the arid grounds and waters the lowlands (IV, 33, 7). By their skill they made grass on the heights and waters in the depths, when they slumbered in the house of Agohya (I, 161, 11). Having slept, they asked Agohya as to who awakened them ; in a year they looked round (I, 161, 13) " - Mac. p. 133. " Sleeping " may mean the state before the heliacal rise is completed and the ' house ' of Savitr is Sun in the *Hasta constellation*, marking the heliacal rise of Agohya. The enigmatic question as to who awakened the Rbhus is left to be answered by itself - in a year - the phenomenon repeats - " they look around " - and that continues to be so - both the question and the reply. Who is Agohya ? In section IV, we took that term to refer to Canopus in all probability, considering its association with the *Hasta constellation*. But the data we find about Savitr and Pūṣan call for a discussion in this respect. The Rbhus when specifically three in number may refer to the last three of the Saptarṣi group. RV. X, 64, 3 has " Agohya " for Pūṣan while VIII, 98, 4 has the same epithet for Indra. In these two places, it reads as an adjective only. It is not so in I, 161, 11 and 13 ; I, 110, 2-3 and IV, 33, 7. In these texts, the term stands definitely for some personality, closely connected

to the house of Savitr, to the extent that we may be led to identify the Agohya with Savitr because the latter honours the Rbhhus with Amṛta at their arrival. The Rbhhus sing the glory of Agohya (I, 110, 3) "तत्सविता वोऽधृतत्वमासुवद्गोहं यच्छ्रवन्त एतन्" which is the glory of the heliacally risen *Agastyā-Canopus* (according to the views of the writer) and which suggests to him the arrival of Magi - the Wise Men from the East - celebrating the Nativity - in the Gospels ("Good tidings")—

Mt. II, 1-3; 8-12. "Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judæa in the days of Herod the King, behold, 'wise men' from the 'East' came to Jerusalem, saying, *Where is he* that is born King of the Jews? for we saw *his star in the east*, and are come to *worship him*. And when Herod the king heard it, he was troubled, he enquired of them *where* the Christ should be born. And they said unto him, *In Bethlehem* of Judæa: and when you have found *him* bring me word, that I also may come and *worship him* And when they saw the star, they rejoiced *with exceeding great joy*. And *they came in the house* and saw the young child with Mary his mother; and they *fell down and worshipped him*; and opening their treasures they offered unto him gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh. And being warned of *God* in a dream that they should not return to Herod, they departed into their own country *another way*.

'Bethlehem' means 'house of Bread'. It is in the Śarad and harvest season that the heliacal rise of Canopus and Saptarṣi are brought together in the house of Hasta (Corvus) asterism (Regent Savitr) which has set heliacally, when sun is in sign Virgo (Kanyā - making the child symbolically Son of Virgin - 'Kanyāputra' and son of 'Carpenter' i. e. of Tvastṛ - Viśvakarmā - regent of Citrā-Spica) and when the evil Hydra still persists (in the reign of Herod). The Saptarṣis have nothing to do with him (king) and they leave him, to resume their own course in another direction westwards. The narration turns around the desire to worship the child and for which purpose, Magi - Rbhhus have started "अगोहं यच्छ्रवन्त एतन् ।" The Amṛta they get is their heliacal rise at the time. The fourfold division that Rbhhus are said to have made seems to refer to the Calendar

with two equinoxes and two solstices. The threefold division may refer to the three seasons. Further discussion on Rbhus is not material to the present investigations. To resume our consideration of light as it is in Vedic conceptions.

(141) Towards True Light: The links to Vasu with Rudras, from the Prime Effulgence to Soma and stellar lights are thus evident. It will be seen that the moon as an embodiment of Prime source of light - of Ajā - holds an unique place ; he is called Prajāpati and Hiranya-Garbha at times ; and Savitr, Pūṣan at times. Thus in case of Pūṣan and Savitr, we see the extension of worship to light which is Lunar, Soḍaśī, Prime Effulgence, in the ultimate analysis of the Vedic seers and towards which, the thoughts, celebrations, songs and the sacrifices converge. And Agni being the representative on earth of all non-earthly elements of light (Solar - stellar - Lunar and celestial), the Sāvitrī marks the first word of the Vedic study, as Agni marks the first hymn of the R̥gveda text. Agni, the terrestrial fire, is one of the several forms that the ancients have resorted to, to attain the *Ultimate Light* (which is beyond earth) and its grace ; various symbolical representations of the male and female divinities mark another form that the human mind seems to have devised for the purpose, with all its shortcomings and limitations. In Section IV and in sections I and III, we saw some of the stellar gods and now we see some more around the " Kālī. " [Vasu is only intermediate form as we pointed out before (paras 115-120)]. It is natural that the developments around Vasu and Agni persist or lurk (under संकेतसु) in the various forms of worship of female divinities in post-vedic period. They will be noticeable in the brief survey that we now take of true " Kālī. "

As to the light in the living beings as ' Ojas ' we refer to elsewhere in the article (paras 149 ff) and which ojas should have marked the real objective and approach to the Prime Light rather than the association of red or black color and which association has led to undeserved emphasis on blood and fire in the Vedic cult and in the Śakti cult where the superfluities have extended from blood to vine or wine and to flesh, of the color of blood.

Thus the consideration of *Pūṣan* and *Savitṛ* form a central part of the thoughts which collect around the Light - the *Kālī* - wife of *Kāla*, the Time and towards the Prime Light, one of whose early embodiment - all stimulator, creator, and nourisher is MOON - always on the forehead of the embodiment of *Kāla* - the Gnomon, the Rudra, the *Puruṣa*, (Para 151).

Whether the modern views as to sun and moon and to their relations and effects are to prevail or the Vedic conceptions, (i. e. Vedic observations), the Vedic songs stand as they do - as we find them in our investigations. With these introductory remarks, we try to probe through the conceptions around " *Kālī* ."

[Paras 142 to 172 are devoted to *Kālī* and to considerations about Rudra / *Kālī*, with index in para 173].

(*To be continued*)

MARXISM AND ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI

"INDIA from Primitive Communism to Slavery" by S. A. Dange ; People's Publishing House, Bombay 1949 ; pp. xix+181, Rs. 4-8-0.

This painfully disappointing book by one of the founders of the Communist Party of India would not have been worth reviewing, but for the fact that to let such a performance go unchallenged would bring Marxism into disrepute. The author's distinguished services to India's proletariat and his being in jail both when the book was drafted and when it was published do not condone the fundamental errors of fact and of reasoning that fill the book from cover to cover with endless confusion. The present review is meant to be constructive.

Marx and Engels made it a point to acquaint themselves with every new discovery of note in science. If they gave such great publicity to Morgan, it was not because they had read nothing else, but because Morgan's theory explained so much that had remained obscure and disconnected. If we look upon Dange's models (besides Engels) we find a striking emphasis upon a narrow section of the emergent Indian bourgeoisie. He follows in actual fact the worthless conjectures made by Tilak, Rajwade, Kunte, *after* criticizing the Indian bourgeois intelligentsia in a needlessly prolix introduction. These are his " vedic scholars ", though he might have found some real scholars like Velapkar, even among Mahārāṣṭrians. No matter what information about another branch of the Aryans could have been gathered from Avestan sources, Dange cites only one, the Vendidad, and then at second or third hand from Tilak's miserable " Arctic Home in the Vedas " (p. 82). The same work may have inspired the irrelevant reference to the usefulness of fire in long Siberian winter nights (p. 38) unless we are to understand that the vedic Aryans were in the habit of retiring to Siberia for the night. Dange seems not to have realized how thoroughly this particular

bourgeois influence saturates his own thinking. The outstanding characteristic of a backward bourgeoisie, the desire to profit without labour or grasp of technique, is reflected in the superficial "research" so common in India; it would be pathetic to find it also in the writings of one who has suffered for his belief in Marxism.

In noting, quite correctly, that British histories of India are coloured by the national, and class prejudices of their writers, Dange forgets that most of our source material was first collected, analyzed, arranged by foreign scholars. To them we owe the critical method, the first publication of authoritative texts, and archaeological exploration—digging up the past not with the pen, but with the spade. As for class prejudice, Dange fails lamentably to note that it also colours very deeply the Sanskrit documents which he believes to be the best sources for historical investigation. "The chief feature of the Hindu system of looking at history, or in fact the whole universe, is that it considers history as being not static but always moving and changing" (p. 34). But the four *yuga* names which he offers in evidence mean throws of dice and not ages of mankind in the earliest sources. The chief feature of the supposedly dynamic "Hindu" treatment of history is the obliteration of all historical content; otherwise we should not have to glean conjectures so painfully from a mass of contradictory legends which alone survive the "Hinduization". What we know of Aśoka and the Guptas comes not from Hindu literary sources but from their own inscriptions—read by Prinsep and Fleet; the Hindus had managed to forget even the script. If Dange finds it worth while mentioning Justice Ranade and N. C. Kelkar (with respect!), could he not have spared a few sentences for European and American orientalists, particularly for the great line of German Indologists from Grāssmann to Lüders? They were thinkers who approached Indic studies with insight, understanding, sympathy, critical systematization.

The results of sadly inadequate basic preparation are evident on every page; a detailed criticism would mean rewriting the whole book twice over. It must be pointed out to the author and his friends that incarceration has been made a regular excuse by the new Indian bourgeoisie for foisting much shallow writing upon the Indian public; Jawaharlal Nehru himself heads the list,

Misprints and defects of style might be passed over. The mistaking of *gens* as the plural of *gen* (p. 41, 82, 181) is more serious: "fantast" (p. 33) should refer to a person; levirate (p. 63) "with other men" is a worse slip, like the identification of "stonehenge" (p. 45) with an enclosure to protect the whole commune, cattle and all. This planking down of words in any sense or no sense at all becomes progressively worse, and indicates loose thinking: "*Brahman is the commune of Aryan man and yajña is its means of production, the primitive commune with the collective mode of production.*" (p. 40, Dange's Italics). This is so wildly improbable as to plunge into the ridiculous. All Rgvedic uses of *brahman* can be, and the greater part must be, explained as referring to prayer or the priesthood, while *yajña* is the fire-sacrifice. A ritual cannot be a "mode of production", though ancient man must have understood magic and ceremonial as helping to increase production. On p. 47 we get an etymology of *yajña* as *ya+ja+na*= "They gather together and beget," which is too silly for comment, apart from the dangerous authoritarian tendency disclosed.

When Engels utilized Morgan's discovery, he was well acquainted with the contemporary store of archaeological and anthropological knowledge, as well as European history from inscriptions and literary sources. In writing on India, Dange is aware that there exists a pre-Aryan population and perhaps that the survivals of matriarchy and tribal society can be found only among the least Aryanized of these. But with an exclusiveness that would have gratified any follower of the late Adolf Hitler, he restricts himself to the Aryans. Again, he is aware that there were Aryans outside India but sees no need to pay them any real attention. For him (as for Tilak, Rajwade and the rest), the Vedas and the Mahābhārata suffice to prove almost anything, with a little imagination and false etymology. Even in the Mahābhārata, he confines himself almost entirely to the Śānti-parvan, of which no critically edited text is available as yet; and a glance at the properly edited parvans (from which he could have taken much useful material) would have shown him how badly such a critical edition is needed before drawing any conclusions from the epic. There exists a study of the Aryans

(again not known to Dange) by a first rate archaeologist, V. Gordon Childe, who developed into a Marxist simply because dialectical materialism explained his evidence better than any other approach. Archaeology alone can supply any reliable data for the study of ancient cultures, particularly those that have left no contemporary, legible, written records. It is a completely materialistic approach, for it tells more than any other method as yet at our disposal about the actual tools of production utilized by many sections of mankind in the remote past, historical or prehistoric. Ancient written sources are to be trusted in direct proportion to their concordance with archaeological evidence, which means nothing to Dange. The fully developed kinship terminology of the Aryans shows that they had passed beyond the purely matriarchal stage of social organization *before* they separated for their various migrations. They first appear as a marginal people attacking highly developed civilizations; their chief contribution seems to have been better military organization and a new type of language. In the near and middle east, they displace the rulers of old civilizations without fundamental change in the means of production. In Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, they wreck Minoan and Mycenaean cultures, but absorb some important cultural elements, as has been shown so brilliantly by George Thomson in his recent study on the prehistoric Aegean, following up his penetrating analysis in "Aeschylus and Athens". Of course, Thomson, uses the full mechanism of archaeological reports and literary criticism, along with his profound knowledge of Marxism and anthropology. In Egypt, we find the Daniwna (possibly Danaans or Danavas) depicted among prisoners of war; a dynasty or two later there appear kings of Egypt with names like Shashank which would have a sound familiar to Aryan ears; but there is no change in the organization of Egyptian society. What happened in India? Did the Aryans bring a primitive commune into an empty wilderness?

Dange notes the discovery and excavation of Mohenjo-Daro in Sindh (p. 3) only as a mere curiosity, of no importance for his own study of the Aryans in India. As a matter of fact, it must completely reorient the study and interpretation of

vedic culture, for the fully developed city of such magnitude, with all its high technique and the complex social organisation thereby implied, is certainly not vedic; its demonstrable antiquity does not allow it to be interpreted as post-vedic. If we wish to study the oldest Indian communities, the fact has to be faced that those of whose antiquity and means of production we have any certain knowledge have passed far beyond the primitive, into civilization. If the study is to be restricted to Aryans, we must at least mention this earlier civilization which the Aryans could break up because they knew, as the Indus valley people did not, the use of the horse and of iron. The Mohenjo-Daro people had trade relations with Mesopotamia, as shown by archaeological finds both in India and abroad; some Aryans also had contact at an early period with Mesopotamian culture or its offshoots and successors. So, we are already well past primitive communism and have to face great complications when attempting to extract history from vedic liturgy or epic myths. What must be noted — as Dange of course has not — is that the vedic references to fortified strongholds and cities of the black Dasyus, destroyed by Indra, begin at last to have a meaning. The three-headed Tvāṣṭri of vedic tradition cannot be unconnected with the three-headed creatures to be seen on Mohenjo-Daro seals. Our Aryans did not succeed to power without destroying the older civilization, and we must therefore look for the effects of this destruction upon the conquerors as well as the conquered. Even in the older portion of the Rgveda we hear of warfare between Sudās and the “ten kings”, in part at least a civil war among the Aryans. It does not take long for the non-fighting portion of the victors to be depressed (along with the greater portion of the vanquished) in a newly developed social scale, especially when racial differences are present. Such differences are clearly indicated by the word for caste, *varṇa*, which means colour; for Dange’s facile pseudo-Marxist explanation, the *varṇa* is a later development, with division of labour. Did some of the exploited change their skin colour with retrospective effect? As a matter of clearly observable fact, we have some form of the coercive mechanism — the state — visible in the vedas, which implies some form of class division as well, whether fully

crystallized or not. The formation of the Śūdra caste, into which a large portion of the Dasyus were thrust, *prevented* the development of real slavery in India. The word for slave is *dāsa*, in older times equivalent to Dasyu, later to house-servant or bondsman; never to a chattel-slave bought and sold like any animal for heavy labour in the fields or mines. Even Diodorus Siculus notes with approval the (idealized) slaveless Indian society. From the Greek point of view this was quite correct as was, from the Indian, Buddha's remark (Assalāyana-sutta of the Majjhimanikāya) that in Yona, Kamboja, and countries beyond the frontier there were only two castes: Arya (= free) and Dāsa (slave), of which the Arya could become Dāsa and conversely. *Because of the caste system, India had helotage, not slavery.* Thus Dange's very title is wrong, for his sources contain neither primitive communism nor slavery. Of course, he makes no attempt to explain why caste should be a feature of the Indian Aryans alone, not of any others. For him, it suffices to read the class war into the Bhagavad-gītā.

All this is not to say that Marxism does not apply to the study of ancient Indian culture. It can be most effective if properly utilized. Matriarchy did exist, though not among the Aryans at a time it would suit Dange to have it; the time element means very little in his book, chronology being immaterial for him. We know a good deal about the actual working of Indo-Aryan tribes, in particular the Vajji or Licchavi group; but not from the Vedas and not at an early stage. These oligarchs, whose name at least continued for a thousand years with honour, are extra-vedic *vṛātyas*, which shows that Dange's source material is as defective as his analysis. But he is so anxious to identify the general stages set out by Engels that one can find atrocious mis-statements on almost every page. "The R̥gveda mentions a big feud between the Deva-Ganas and the Panis. The latter had stolen the cattle herds of the Deva-Ganas, whose leader in this war was a woman Sharama. She leads the Devas through rivers and forests and finds the Panis, and war ensues." (p. 87). The reference is presumably to R̥gveda x. 108. The (not particularly old) hymn merely reports a dialogue between the Panis and Saramā (not Sharama), who claims to be nothing more than

the messenger of Indra demanding the return of the cows; there is no mention of the "Deva-gaṇa," and the *devas* are themselves not on the scene at all. Traditional comment makes Saramā a (divine) bitch sent by Indra to track down the missing cattle, and in fact *sārameya* means hunting-dog. Nothing is said of a female or any other leader of the *devas* in war or peace, except Indra and possibly Bṛhaspati. The most charitable interpretation that I can place upon this sort of "historical" writing is that Dange has not troubled to read his own sources.

Marxism is not a substitute for thinking, but a tool of analysis which must be used, with a certain minimum of skill and understanding, upon the proper material. Interlarding groundless conjectures with quotations from Engels does not suffice. For the book under consideration, the poor documentation, habit of passing off secondary references unverified (and unverifiable), poor grasp of the material, and absence of logic in interpretation make it impossible to rely upon any of the author's statements as regards the history of India.

MISCELLANEA

THE GENESIS OF THE ROOTS

‘Rabh’ ‘Labh’ and ‘Lab’

रभ्, लभ्, लव्

BY

K. M. Shembavnekar

The letter r (र्), as is well-known to all Sanskrit philologists, has been responsible for a number of interesting developments, by its gradual transformation into ‘l’ (ल्). This tendency of the letter towards softening is so clearly discernible from the earliest times, that is, the R̥gvedic period, that it may be taken as a criterion for determining the relative chronology of Vedic literature. Thus the large number of roots and substantives, which appear in the R̥gveda with the hard letter र् as their integral part, present themselves in the later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas in a slightly modified form by the conversion of that र् into ल्. This change is remarkable in nouns like अङ्गुरि,¹ prepositions like अरम्² and in roots like रप्³, रिह्⁴, अश्⁵ etc. All these R̥gvedic forms reappear in later Vedic literature and in classical Sanskrit as अङ्गुलि, and अलम् and लप्, लिह् and श्लश्, respectively. Notwithstanding the change, however, which belongs to a later stage, certain old nouns, derived from the old stem, do retain the old form; thus the word रिपु (enemy) is traced to the old root रप् which means to talk (ill) अनिष्टं रपतीति रिपुः (सि. कौ.); cf. आ विवाध्या परि रापस्तमांसि च where Sāyana remarks परि रपः = परिवादकान्. The same root, again, after its transformation into लप् gives us a number of

¹ यत्पृथिव्या वरिमन्नास्त्रङ्गुरिः R. V. IV, 54-4.

² अरं दासो न मीहृक्षे कराणि R. V. VII, 86 7

³ आ विवाध्या परि रापस्तमांसि च R. V. II, 23, 3.

⁴ शिथुं न विप्रा मतिभी रिहन्ति R. V. VIII, 7.7.1.

⁵ विमच्छूयाय रशनामिवागः R. V. II. 28. 5,

classical nouns, like संलाप, प्रलाप, आलाप etc. It is only in the light of philology, therefore, that we are enabled to perceive the radical identity of रिप्, and आलाप. But in all these cases the old forms of roots fell into disuse, and new softened ones came into vogue in course of time. In several other cases, however, we get both the old and new forms side by side, but with slightly or materially altered meanings. Thus the root चल् is the same as चर् which alone is found in the R̥gveda. But in classical Sanskrit the two roots are clearly differentiated. e. g. व्रतं चरति, धर्मं चरति, but बलं चलति; cf. चचाल बाला स्तनाभिश्चबलकला । (कु. सं. V.)

Similarly, रंहित and लोहित, रेखा and लेखा, शुक्र and शुक् are only the double forms of the first in each pair, which is the earlier as well as the original. From the root कृप् which changes its २ to क् according to the Sūtra कृपो रोः (८।२।१८) we have a noun in the old form, namely, कृपो; while from the softened form of the same root we get कल्प, संकल्प, विकल्प etc.

But these are comparatively simple cases. The divergence caused by the tendency towards softening between the old and new forms is, in several cases so striking—the phonetic change so remarkable—that few can perceive the identity of the two. Thus the old R̥gvedic root श्री (श्रीणाति), from which we get the noun श्रेय, was gradually softened into स्त्री: प्र हान्यं स्त्रीनाति । (तै. आ. III. 11, 8). In the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini both the roots are given as identical in form as well as in meaning. Still more remarkable is the form अलृक्ष as found in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad : अलृक्षा धर्मकानाः स्युः । (I-11-4), where, according to Sāyaṇa, अलृक्ष is the same as अरुक्ष or अरुर्क्ष, and hence 'soft' or 'merciful'. And in the Gṛhya-Sūtra of Āśvalāyana we come across another strange form which indicates the same softening tendency : कामं कृष्णमालो- हवांश्चेत् (Sec. शूलगव). The Commentator explains the word आलोहवान् as meaning 'fat' (पुष्ट); that is, आलोह is only the softened form of आरोह or the 'hump' of the young bull, a meaning which alone suits the context. But this tendency towards softening appears to have received a setback at this stage, and the 'bhāṣā' or classical Sanskrit could not absorb or retain such insipid words as अलृक्ष and आलोह but clung fast to the old and more vigorous forms, viz. अरुक्ष and आरोह.

The genesis of the roots रम्, लम् and लब् (लम्ब) is still more interesting and, indeed, is a strange phenomenon in Sanskrit philology. For it reveals, how the one old root, viz. रम् became first softened into लम् and then into लब् transferring its original meaning to each successive stage, and acquiring a new one after the act of the genesis. And, secondly, it is only a critical investigation and comprehensive survey of this strange metamorphosis which gives us a true insight into the real and exact meanings of such technical terms as अन्वारम्भ, समन्वारम्भण, आलम्भ etc. That these three are not separate and independent roots is evident from the fact that in the earlier portion of the R̥gveda only रम् is found, while in the later Samhitās of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda, and in the Brāhmaṇas of all the Vedas, we come across the softened लम् possessing the same signification. The still more softened form, लब् is only to be found in the Upaniṣads and in the Epics and Classical Sanskrit. It is essential, therefore, to examine the exact meaning of the original root and then trace it through the successive stages through which it passed. In the R̥gveda रम् or more frequently आरम् means to 'cling' or 'touch': 'अयः स्कम्भासः स्कभिनास आरभे'¹. Where Sāyana explains आरभे आरब्धुम्, अवलम्बितुम्; 'अनारम्भणे तद्वीरयेथाम्²' (अनारम्भणे = आलम्बनरहिते); 'धीरा इच्छेकुर्धनेष्वारभम्³' (आरभम् = आलम्बनाय). Yāska, while explaining the word रम्भ (staff) confirms the above meaning and observes as follows: रम्भः पिनाकमिति दण्डस्य। रम्भ आरम्भन्ते एवम्। 'आ त्वा रम्भं न जीवयो ररम्भ। इत्यपि निगमो भवति। आरभामहे त्वा जीर्णा इव 'दण्डम्'। (आरभामहे = आलम्बामहे). If we bear in mind this old meaning of the root and do not allow ourselves to be misguided by its later or classical signification—which, of course, naturally occurs to our mind, then, and then only, it is possible to understand the proper connotation of certain technical terms and forms derived from that root. To illustrate: अन्वारम्भण and अन्वारम्भ are equivalents of अन्वाल्म्वन and अन्वाल्म्वित respectively. Compare: 'तं विद्याकर्मणी समन्वारभेते पूर्वप्रज्ञा च⁴' to him *closely cling* विद्या and कर्म as also पूर्वप्रज्ञा; 'तस्मिन्नुपविष्टायां समन्वारब्धायाम्⁵' when she (the bride) has taken her seat on it, and

¹ R. V. I, 34, 2.

² R. V. I, 116-5.

³ R. V. VII, 2, 29.

⁴ Nir. III. 21.

⁵ Br. Up. VI, 4.

⁶ Āśv. Gr. Śū. Śeo. दधप्रवेश.

closely clung to, or touched, him (the bridegroom). Similarly in वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्,¹ the phrase वाचारम्भण is to be understood as before: वाचा आरभ्यते, आलम्ब्यते इति i. e. वाग् आलम्बनं यस्य सः। The same meaning of the root आरम् is discernible in the well-known phrase of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, अनारभ्याधीतानि which means 'अनालम्ब्य किमपि पूर्ववृत्तं, कर्मविशेषं वा पठितानि।' And, lastly, why परि + रम् means 'to embrace' even in classical Sanskrit is clear if we substitute लम् for रम् 'परि = परितः, रम्भणं = लम्बनम्।; cf. परिष्वङ्गः; (समन्वारम्भण = clinging to one side; परिरम्भण = clinging closely on all sides).

In accordance with the general tendency towards the softening of र into ल, prevalent during the period of the Saṃhitās of the Yajurveda and of the Brāhmaṇas and Kāṇva-Sūtras, the root रम् became लम्. And we actually find in the Gṛhya-Sūtra of Pāraskara the verb आलभते used exactly in the sense of आरभते as noted and explained above: अथास्य दक्षिणांसमधि हृदयमालभते²। This is rather an exception, for the old forms आरभते and आरब्ध or समन्वारब्ध had already become technical words, and as such they did retain their place in the sacrificial and sacerdotal literature of the age. But though an exception, it shows the general phonetical tendency of the times, and where the sense of the old and new form is identical, it is easy to recognize the identity of the two forms in spite of the change. But when along with a phonetical change, there comes also a connotative change in a word, it becomes a fit subject for deep speculation. Most frequently in the Yajurveda (both, White and Black), as well as in the Brāhmaṇas of all the Vedas, we find the root आ + लम् used in a totally different sense, at least apparently. Thus in the typical sentences अग्नीषोमीयं पशुमालभेत। वायव्यं श्वेतमालभेत श्रुतिकामः। तस्या आलब्धाये वागुच्चक्राम। etc. the root came to mean, 'to slaughter' (in a sacrifice). This is, indeed, a very remarkable change, and, if properly examined and understood, leads to very important results. If we but comprehend the process by which the sacrificial least was and is, even now, killed in a sacrifice, the change yields its secret. *It is by grappling and strangulation*

¹ Chan. Up. VI, 4.

² Pār. Gr. Su. II. 1. 7.

that the beast meets its death in a sacrifice, and not by an operation of the knife, as in a slaughter-house. That is the meaning of आलम्भन now, which, though materially altered, nevertheless reveals its identity with the old. If आरभ् means to 'hold' or 'cling to' in the Rgveda, आलभ् means to 'grapple'—to 'hold fast with a merciless hand, though in a sacred cause'—in the Yajurveda. It is this mode of killing that is called आलम्भन, while the other, and more usual, mode of killing an animal, viz., by a steel instrument, is called विशसन.¹ Further, this suggests that आलम्भन was an innovation introduced during the period of the Yajurveda when the cult of sacrifice became supreme, and the sciences closely connected with it, such as Anatomy, Trigonometry etc. received a sort of impetus through the usual performance of the same. Then, again, why समालम्भन means विलेपन it is now easy to understand; it is something which sticks to the body.

By the further softening of लभ् into लब् during the post-Vedic and Epic periods, a gap was filled which was caused by the remarkable change of meaning undergone by the old root as above described. And, accordingly, we have now the form आलम्बते which has exactly the same signification as आरभते in the Rgveda: Compare 'आलम्ब्य हारं करपल्लवेन'² स्वरूपमास्थाय च तां कृतस्मितः समालम्ब्ये वृषराजकेतनः।³ In course of time the three roots रभ्, लभ् and लब् became completely differentiated in meaning and retained their places in the Bhāṣā or Classical Sanskrit. आरभते became synonymous with प्रक्रमते: लभते with विन्दति, while आलम्बते only represents the old meaning. The transitive character of all the three roots, the Ātmanepada, and the Mumāgama (nasalisation of the penultimate syllable) are clear traces of their old identity. This is perhaps, the only example of a single root splitting, or multiplying itself, into three in the Sanskrit Language.

¹ In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa we find Śunaḥśepa describing his plight in the words, अमात्रमिव वै मा विशसिष्यन्ति । Here the verb विशसिष्यन्ति is deliberately used, for he was to be killed with a stroke of the sword.

² Vikramāṅkadevacarita.

³ Kumārsambhava, V. 76.

KAMPESHWAR SAME AS KAPESHWAR

BY

Y. K. DESHPANDE

The article on 'The Thermal Springs' by Mr. P. K. Gode in the last issue of the Samshodhak of Dhulia was brought to my notice. I went carefully through it and found that the equations therein are incorrect and require corrections. I, therefore, attempted to write this note.

The equations suggested are as follows :—

$$\text{Rasārṇava} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Kampnagar} = \text{Kadambnagar.} \\ \text{Kampeshwar} = \text{Chintamanyalaya.} \\ \text{Ushnodak} = \text{Ganeshkund.} \end{array} \right\} \text{Ganeshpurāṇ.}$$

I now proceed to discuss the points. I may here note that all the places in the topography have been personally visited many times by me for search. In the Rasārṇava, it is recorded that Matapur is situated in the Sahyādri hills to the North of the Godāvāri river in Maharashtra. This hill is called Sinhādri hill in the purāṇas (Kālikā Khaṇḍa and others). It is, however, wrongly styled as Sahyādri. The proper Sahyādri range is, as is well-known, in the Western ghats. The Matapur of the Rasārṇava is styled as Matapur and Mahur as has been correctly recorded by Mr. Gode in his article on the basis of authorities quoted by him. The river Pranita mentioned in the Rasārṇava runs at a distance of two or three miles to the North of Matapur towards the East. This river is called Payanganga from its source in the Buldhana district of Berar up to the village Sangam, three miles to the West of Matapur. At this place, this river meets with Pusa river which has its source near Basim in Berar. After the confluence of these rivers it assumes the name of Pranita, and not only after the confluence of Wardha and Payanganga.

The Rasārṇava correctly records its name as Pranita when it is to the North of Matapur. There are several natural springs on

both the banks of the river between Matapur and Unakeshwar at a distance of nearly 15 miles. One such spring is at Siddheshwar, a village which is on the Northern bank of the river to the North of Matapur. The village is named after the Siddheshwar Mahadeo. The temple which is after the old Hemadpanti style is now in a dilapidated condition. Near the temple there is a kund now out of repair but the water of the natural spring still flows out. The water is cold.

To the East of this Siddheshwar, at a distance of two miles but only a mile from the river, there is a temple of Kapeshwar Mahadeo. It is built in old Hemadpanti style in cut stone. The temple is in good order and the back wall of the temple had got obscene statues carved on it, as in other temples elsewhere. The temple faces the East and has got a sabhamandap of stone also. The south-east corner of the sabhamandap has got a kund, a small square tank, 4 ft. by 4 ft. and of the same depth. At the bottom of the tank there has been fixed a flat stone with a central hole, out of which a constant flow of water rushes. After the tank is full, the water is allowed to go out by a gāyamukh outside the veranda. The water of the spring is cold and it is not known if the water has got healing power. The village is called Kap and the Mahadeo is styled as Kapeshwar after the village. To my mind there is no doubt that the places named as Kamp and Kampeshwar in the Rasārṇava are no other than Kap and Kapeshwar. For finding the hot springs mentioned in Rasārṇava, we have to go further East by the side of the river and then cross the river and go to the south and within a mile we find an enclosure of stone-wall about 100 ft. by 100 ft. The main gate is towards the East and there is another entrance to the South of the enclosure. The central place of the enclosure has been occupied by a temple of Mahadeo and a spacious sabhamandap in its front. To the south of the sabhamandap just in front of it at a distance of two or three feet there is a kund 12 ft. by 8 ft. full of hot water. The spring is somewhere at the bottom of the kund and the water flows in another kund which is to its West. The water in the first tank is very hot and it becomes fit for bath after it reaches the second kund. From the second tank the water is allowed to flow out of the enclosure. In the western half of the

enclosure, there are two or three small tanks of hot water which do not overflow. At noon time, the water of the small tanks appears clear at the bottom and the bubbles of gases rush from the bottom just like pearls and disappear at the surface. In the Western half of the compound, there is a well at the north-east corner. It is full of cold water. In the centre of the sabhamandap, just a few feet from the main hot springs there is a well-built cistern about 2 ft. by 2 ft. and also of the same depth. It is full of cold water and the level of the water in the cistern is constant in all the seasons, the water being supplied from inside. The Mehadeo is styled as Unakeshwar after the hot springs.

There are in all three inscriptions at the place, two at the southern gate of the sabhamandap and the third on the deepmal which is in front of the temple in the compound. The oldest one is dated in Śaka 1211, the year before the Jñāneśvari was completed. This inscription has been published by me some fifteen years ago in the quarterly of the Bharat Itihasa Mandal of Poona and it has been referred to by Prof. K. P. Kulkarni in his work 'Marathi Bhashecha Udgama and Vikas'. This inscription is valuable as it records the incident of the repairs of the temple by one Saranu Nayak of Matapur in the regime of Hemadri pandit when Ramdeorao Yadao was ruling at Deogiri. It further records the mythology of the origin of the hot springs from Rāmāyana. It mentions that the place was the hermitage of Sharabhang Rishi and on visit by Shri Rāmchandra to the place, the hot springs were created by him for the use of the said rishi who was suffering from leprosy. The inscription further records the grant of land to the temple from some 10 or 12 villages which can still be identified almost under the same names, in the surrounding locality. The second inscription at the southern entrance is a record of the second repair of the temple about 300 years ago by a Deshpandia of Sindkhed a few miles away, and the inscription on the deepmal gives the name of the person who constructed it. The hot springs are famous for the cure of leprosy and skin diseases and people visit the place and stay there for days together with this object. The people regard this place as holy spot and they throng there on the eclipse day and on other parva days for bath.

It will be clear from the above detailed description of the place that the author of the *Rasārṇava* had this place in view when he mentioned the hot springs at Kamp or Kampeshwar.

Kalamb which has been referred to by Mr. Gode in his article is not directly to the north of Matapur but it is to the north-east direction and is nearly at a distance of 63 miles. It is on the Yeotmal Wardha and Nagpur road and is about 14 miles to the East from Yeotmal. There is a temple of Chintamani (Ganesh) and also a Ganesh kund in front of the temple. I was in touch with the Devasthan committee of the place as its president for about 10 years. The original *Gaṇeshpurāṇ* also records the story of the origin of the Chintamani idol and also about the cure of the leprosy of certain persons. The *Gaṇeshpurāṇ* of Kurundwad is a Marathi version of the same. The water in the Ganesh kund is cold but it is known to cure leprosy and skin diseases. People stay there for Anuṣṭhāna and also for cure of the diseases by bath or internal use of the water. It will be, however, far fetched to hold Kadambeshwar as Kampeshwar or Kadamb as Kamp. Chintamani is nowhere called as Kadambeshwar in the *purāṇas* or elsewhere.

It may be noted that Pranita or the Payanganga forms the boundary between Berar and the Nizam's state. The present Kap village in Berar and the hot springs which are at present styled as Unakdeo or Unakeshwar are situated in the Nizam's state. I may note that there are other hot springs in Khandesh near about Edalabad. They are also called Unakdeo. But I have not seen them. From the description given in the *Rasārṇava* the author undoubtedly means the hot springs described above. It can however be conjectured that the first spring 'Unakdeo at Adabad', mentioned in the list which is given at the end of the article by Mr. Gode and which has been prepared from the Imperial Gazetteer of India is the same as Unakdeo in Khandesh.

From these notes it will be clear that this is the the proper solution of the equation put forth and suggested by Mr. Gode in his article.

LORD KṚṢṆA OF FOUR BHUJAS?

BY

S. N. TADPATRIKAR

We have, at Śloka 46 of Adhyāya 11 of the Bhagavadgītā, a reference to the ‘*Caturbhujā*’ form of Kṛṣṇa. The cosmic Vision revealed to Arjuna had terrified the mind of Arjuna and he prayed the Lord to be again in his usual form of four Bhujas. And this is the *only* mention—as far as Gītā is concerned—of such a form of the Lord!

. This has been a point of discussion among critics and commentators, and not a few, have accepted the Lord as having four arms—this latter being the usual meaning of the word ‘*Bhujā*’. Some, like Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, and Śrīdhara, have asserted that this is an indication of the fact that Arjuna always saw the Lord in this form of four arms. And yet, there is, a little further on, in Śloka 51 of this same chapter, a clear statement of Arjuna, that this form—‘*Rūpa*’—which the Lord next revealed himself in, was ‘*Mānuṣa*’—*human*! So one is naturally confused! Were there *human* beings of four arms, or was this a special case with our Lord Kṛṣṇa? Even if we accept this latter alternative, there are contradictory statements, elsewhere, in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, which, as clearly state that Kṛṣṇa had two arms only. The Brahma Vaivarta describes him as—‘*dvibhujam murali-bastam*’—having two arms with the flute in his hands; Padma Purāṇa, in Pātālakhaṇḍa, 77.46 emphatically makes the statement that ‘Kṛṣṇa has two arms only and *never* four, and later on, at 81.35, describing the Lord’s form, for purposes of meditation, confirms this statement; while Śrīmad Bhāgavata, giving the account of the appearance of the Lord, in the prison-house, before Vāsudeva and Devakī, states that He first appeared in his divine form of four arms, but subsequently, Devakī prayed Him to withdraw that form of four arms, and accordingly, while the parents were looking on, the Lord became ‘an ordinary child’—*prakṛtaḥ śīṣuḥ*! And then, like an ordinary child,—at least, in form!—he grew up into a boy and a man.

A rational (!) conclusion would be that when, after his passing away, Kṛṣṇa was identified with the supreme godhead Viṣṇu, the appellations of the latter were all seriously made applicable to the former, too, and Kṛṣṇa was accepted as a God—like his original, Viṣṇu—having four arms. But the consistency of the idea was not maintained all over the wide literature pertaining to the Lord, and thus we have some contradictory statements, like the one in *Gītā*, under consideration, still facing us.

It is interesting to note that Sūrya, the author of the commentary *Paramārtha-prapa*, has discussed this point, at greater length and arrived at the conclusion that ‘looking to the Upakrama and Upasamhāra—beginning and end of this topic, we have to take, the two-armed form, common to all men, as being indicated here. Another commentator, Puruṣottama, of the Vallabha Sect, has accepted the four-armed form of the Lord, and then tried to override the incogruity in the word ‘mānuṣa’ in śloka 51, by making it to mean, not ‘human’, as one would ordinarily do, but ‘such as could (with ease!) be seen by (ordinary) men’!

Turning to learned commentators of our times, I can mention one as an instance, that deserves the attention of the student; Sri Krishnaprem, in his ‘Yoga of the Bhagavadgītā’, has, at p. 109, given a footnote on this point. It runs:—“The *catura-bhuja* form of verse 46 should be translated “four-limbed” (i. e. two arms and two legs) and not, as usually done “four-armed”. The word *bhuja* means limb as well as arm, and verses 49 and 51 clearly show that the form in question was a *human* one, four limbed in contrast to the thousand arms and legs of the symbolic vision. The *Viṣṇu* form, no doubt, has four arms; but in the earlier texts, such as the *Mahābhārata*, Kṛṣṇa has always the normal human two”. It is further stated, in the Note, that this interpretation was suggested, to the Author, by Pandit J. C. Chatterji, Vidya Varidhi.

It is, however, difficult, at least for an ordinary student, to accept this interpretation of the word “*Bhuja*”. Lexicons, in no way, support it. To quote two prominent works: Monier Williams gives ‘*Bahu*’ as a synonym for the word ‘*Bhuja*’ saying that the term is often used at the end of an Adj. compound, as

‘caturbhūja’. Referring to the word “Bāhu”, we find, in the course of others, a *Vedic* use, meaning ‘limb of a cow’. Turning to another standard lexicon, the *Kalpadrūma*, nearly the same interpretations, as above, are found. So that, ‘Bhūja’ to mean any ‘limb’ has first to be substituted by its synonym ‘Bāhu’, and then, too, we have to rely upon its *Vedic* use, to arrive at the interpretation suggested above. This looks rather an extremely roundabout way.

Before proceeding to submit my own humble view on this point, I would like to tackle another important source, which may throw some light on this. The Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona, have been bringing out a Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, and in course of the work, numerous old and important Manuscripts in different Indian Scripts and from different Mss. libraries, are being consulted and collated. The Institute have only recently published a special Critical Edition of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, for the use of *Gītā* students. Referring to this edition for variant readings in Mss., if any, I find, only one Ms. having ‘*Bhujadvayena*’ for ‘*Caturbhujena*’, while ‘*Manuṣam*’ has no v. l. ! So that ‘—dvayena’ of one single Ms. is a clear emendation, and a conscious effort to remedy the interpretational difficulty.

Now, although, this difficulty is apparently not realised by many commentators, I hope, the above will make it clear to all careful students of the *Gītā*, that the difficulty is real and worth a serious discussion. I beg to submit here, as a possible solution, some of my own views, in the hope that they will receive due attention.

And first, in the absence of any considerable manuscript evidence, to guide us, the best way would be to study the context carefully:—

We have to remember, in this connection, that this Cosmic Vision was not forced upon Arjuna. In fact, it was he, who had asked for it—“*Draṣṭum icchāmi te rūpam aiśvaram ...*”. And Lord Kṛṣṇa, on his part, had warned him, saying that it was impossible for him to see that Vision with ordinary human eyes, and He had given him-powerful - ‘*Divya*’ - sight; and yet, when Arjuna actually saw the Lord in that form, he could not keep the balance

of his mind. He was terrified, and still, it seems—and *this is most important in this context*, he could not repel the attraction, he wanted still more to enjoy the sight of the vision ! But he could not bear to see that terrific – ‘ghora’ – aspect, and wanted to see the Vision, in a milder form ! Therefore it is, that he prays for the same vision—‘*Tad eva me darśaya deva rāpam*’ so that, we have, in Śl. 50, that ‘Vāsudeva, taking the milder form, showed Himself to Arjuna again’. Before this, we have the Lord’s own words, corresponding to Arjuna’s prayer ‘*Tadeva me rāpam idam prapaśya*’.

The details of the form found in epithets like *kiriṭinam*, *gadinam*’ etc. at Śl. 46, are almost a *verbatim* repetition of those found at Śl. 17, and the statement of Arjuna in the second quarter of 46, confirms the idea that he wishes to continue to enjoy the sight of cosmic vision only in a ‘*Saumya*’—‘*Mānuṣa*’ (such as can be seen by a human being) aspect !

Thus, to my mind, the original Śloka 45, had three lines or six quarters, and the fourth line mentioning the ‘*caturbhuja*’ form, was subsequently added on, to make two normal ślokas of two lines each ! This is not unusual as can be seen from numerous such instances of single-line interpolations, found in the critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute of Poona.

Or, if this idea of an interpolation in such a sacred text as the Gītā, does not seem acceptable to the student, I would suggest another alternative-interpretation, for the ‘*caturbhuja*’ form of the lord :— It is not unknown to students, that the unmanifest—the Father—becomes manifest in conjunction with Prakṛiti—the Mother. So to give us the normal ‘*Mānuṣa*’ form, we conceive the marriage of the two—And thus to suit our ideas, this manifestation means ‘four arms’ – two of the father and two of the mother. This idea is still current in Marathi language, where by being ‘*caturbhuja*’ we mean only ‘being married !’

A NOTE ON 'A UNIQUE VI (TH) CENTURY
INSCRIBED SATI STELĒ'

BY

S. K. DIKSHIT

Dr. H. D. Sankalia and Dr. M. G. Dikshit of the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona have recently published in the Journal of that Institute, the description of the above-mentioned stc.ē, together with the inscription on it.¹ The latter contains, in a single stanza, all that we can know about the purpose of setting up the stelē. The learned authors allege that the "local tradition ascribes sculpture to a woman, who committed Sati in remote antiquity," and that their own "subsequent study has shown that the local tradition was cent per cent based upon facts." By the expression "committing Sati," it is generally understood that the woman in question had lost her husband, and that in consequence she ascended the funeral pyre of the same, or committed suicide in some other way. If that is the intended meaning of the learned Doctors or that of the local tradition, the question is whether this is borne out by the "facts," supplied to us by the inscription itself.

As to the letters of the record, some of them are totally or partially damaged or lost, but whichever of them remain undamaged appear to be perfectly legible, being written in a bold and beautiful hand, and there are quite enough of them to show that the record is in *Śardūla-vikṛīḍita* metre. It was, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to us that this fact about the metre should have been pointed out to these scholars by somebody else :—"... as pointed out so kindly by Dr. Chhabra, the Government Epigraphist for India, the inscription consists of a *Śardūla-vikṛīḍita*

¹ Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Vol. IX, Nos. 1-2, p. 161 f.

verse." The reason for their non-recognition of the metre will be clear from their own reading of that inscription, which can hardly be read after the style of a verse except in the second and last lines, and which ignores a number of *mātrās*, etc., that are clearly visible. The reading of the inscription given by these scholars is as follows :—

Line 1 :— Om Śrī - u - u — lānchhanasya nrpater yyahalikh...
[I*] bhāryyā saccaritena bhartur (II*)

Line 2 :— Punya ... mya ri rakṣaṇārtham madara ntasya gatāyā ... cam [I*] prītyā śailam-idam svayam nṛpati (nā) saṁsthāpitam caitya (ke).

The correct reading of this verse, however, is :—

Line 1 :— Om¹ [I*] Śrī - [G] u [?] p [?] — — lānchanasya nrpater-yyā Hālipe [kh, c, or v] = ity-abhūt [I] bhāryyā saccaritena bhartur-u [II*]

Line 2 :— punyā [yā*] m - pa (m pa) ri - rakṣaṇārttham - ada (ja ?) ran-ta (raṁ ta) - syām-ga (syām ga) tāyām [d*] ivam [I*] prītyā śailam - idam svayam nṛ (nṛ)-pati [nā*] sa [m] sthāpitam caitya'ke]. [III*II].

From this, it is clear that the king, who installed this "śaila" (or stelē), (i. e., who is referred to in the fourth *pāda* of this verse) is identical with the king mentioned in the first *pāda*, and that Hālipe (khī) or Hālipe(vī) or Hālipe(cī), to commemorate whom this "śaila" was set up, was a favourite queen of that king. This means that the king survived the queen, and not *vicē versa*. Therefore, there arises no question whatever of the said queen "committing Sati".

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² May be restored as Gu[m] p [ā].

³ Expressed by two slanting lines, which are replaced in some later inscriptions by mere dots, written after the fashion of *visarga*-signs.

THE ORIGIN AND FUNCTION OF THE STATE

According to the *Rajadharma* parvan*

By

S. K. BELVALKAR

The Fascicule which I am about to request the Chairman of this evening's function to formally publish happens to be the eighteenth so to be published ; and with the publication of the present Fascicule which contains the major portion of the *Rajadharma* section of the *Śāntiparvan*, the thirty-year old undertaking to which the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had pledged itself has entered upon a stage which can be definitely described as the beginning of the great end. For, as is well known, the *Śāntiparvan* is the longest Book of India's Great Epic, comprising as it does a sixth part of its total extent ; and the Book is also the hardest as presenting a great mass and variety of exegetical and text-critical problems not all of which the present Editor can hope to have solved to the fullest satisfaction of all critics. We – the General Editor and his band of loyal assistants in the Department – have however spared ourselves no pains and even feel reasonably confident that in not a few passages the critical text as is now being presented for the first time to the readers is much better documented than that of the existing editions, and so constitutes a definite improvement upon the text of the Parvan which was available to scholars during the last more than a century.

The present Edition of the *Śāntiparvan* was fortunate enough to secure and make use of some very rare and important MSS., amongst which first mention has to be made of the unique *Śāradā* MS. belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. No other *Śāradā* codex for this Parvan was known to exist anywhere else, and if, during the late war, Paris had not voluntarily declared itself an open

* This was presented on the occasion of the publication of the 18th Fascicule of the Institute's Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* on the 28th of August 1949 – the *Rajpāñcāmī* day – with the Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar in the chair.

city, and if the present MS. had been destroyed in the course of some insane bombing operation, our edition simply could not have gone on in the absence of some representative of the original Śārada Version of the text of so important a Parvan. The first thing naturally that the Institute did upon the cessation of hostilities was to secure a photo-copy of this unique MS. from Paris; and thanks to the timely assistance of the Government of Bombay who offered to purchase the photo-copy for their Manuscript Library now in the custody of the B. O. R. Institute, the MS. (originally purchased for the French Government in Kashmir) is now - in its photographic form - safe in our possession. The MS., let me say, fully satisfies the expectations formed about it, as will be shown in the Critical Notes to be given at the end of each of the three subsections of the Śānti. — Later on, from the same Library in Paris, we also obtained photo-copy of a complete Bengali MS. of the entire Parvan, bearing a date corresponding to A. D. 1687. This MS. is also proving very useful.

The oldest MS. utilized for the present edition of the Śāntiparvan is, however, the unique Nepal MS. written in Maithili characters and bearing a date corresponding to A. D. 1519, which has the distinction of being used for purposes of customary religious recitations by a succession of the crowned kings of Nepal on the occasion of their coronations. This MS. the Nepal Durbar would neither lend out nor would they themselves prepare and send a photo-copy of it at the Institute's expense. After some correspondence, the Durbar eventually permitted a small deputation to go to Nepal and photograph the MS. *in situ*. This permission, however, would not have been of much use if the Government of Bombay had not once more come to the rescue by lending us for over a month the services of their expert photographer and his assistant. Accordingly, the General Editor had to undertake what eventually proved to be, for his age, a rather trying expedition to Kathmandu, to personally direct and supervise the photographic operations. Our best thanks are due in this connection also to the University of Bombay who, with its wonted liberality, offered a donation to cover part of the expenses involved in the photographic expedition. This is thus the third MS. that we are using for the Śāntiparvan in a photo-copy.

Besides the MSS. written in the Śāradā, Bengali and Maithili characters, the Critical Edition has also been utilizing MSS. written in Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam characters, in addition of course to those written in the Devanāgarī, which has been in vogue all over India. The total number of individual MSS. utilized for the entire Śāntiparvan is 52 for the text and 8 for the commentaries. Of these, the MSS. copied and recopied in exclusively provincial scripts tend to preserve and perpetuate a more or less provincial version of the Epic text, and by critically comparing such distinctively provincial versions and correcting them with the help of one another, it becomes generally possible to determine, in a large number of cases, what may be called the earlier, pre-provincial version of the Epic text, which on the whole turns out to be a more authentic and intrinsically a better text than the one with which scholars had so far to content themselves.

Four years ago, it was my great good fortune to request the Chairman of this evening, at a similar function of the Institute, to announce the publication of the fifteenth Fascicule of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, containing the first part of the Bhīṣma-parvan. That Fascicule contained the same number of pages (400) as the present, but it took a little over 15 months in the printing, whereas the present Fascicule could be completed in a trifle less than 12 months. We want, however, to print two pages a day on the average – a feat which can be possible only if the Institute is enabled to have a printing machine of its own. At present we are relying upon the courtesy of our ever-obliging neighbour, the Aryabhushan Press, which prints whatever we compose and correct in our composing rooms.

Fascicule fifteen, published in 1945, contained the Bhagavad-Gītā, that well-known philosophical poem which prescribes the mood, the correct philosophical attitude, with which man should undertake any action. In other words, that Poem teaches men *how* they should do a thing: but not *what* exactly they should do¹. This latter forms a necessary complement to the teaching of the

1 To ask Arjuna to follow the Śāstra is not always a precise direction, because, in special cases, the Śāstra admits of exceptions and counter-exceptions. Were it otherwise, Arjuna could not have raised the question at all.

Bhagavadgītā ; and the Rājadharmā, the major part of which is about to be published today, is designed to make good that deficiency. Just as, in the Bhagavadgītā, Kṛṣṇa makes Arjuna the *nimitta*, the occasion, for expounding his theory of conduct which has a much wider, almost universal, application, even so, in the Rājadharmā, the veteran Bhīṣma makes Yudhiṣṭhira the *nimitta* for laying down precepts for conduct which not only kings but even commoners could follow with advantage. The treatment, I may add, is conceived and carried out in the right Indian fashion, with an excursus on the first origins and the ultimate end of social organizations like the Family, the State and the Church.

I must say that years before I took up the study of the Rājadharmā for our Critical Edition, I had to study, rather thoroughly, for my University examinations, the subject of Politics and Social Philosophy in the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau, Burke, Spencer and others, so that I did not expect that old Bhīṣmacārya would have anything really original or valuable to teach me. But in this I was, I must confess, agreeably disillusioned, and I am now able to declare with some confidence that what old Bhīṣma has to propound on the subject of the origins of the State, crude though it looks, and mythologizing in the outward garb, is more logical and realistic than what the above-mentioned writers have to offer. I shall briefly illustrate my point.

Plato, for instance, tells us that State arises out of individual needs and is organized on the principle of division of labour, the division occasionally leading to conflict and so requiring the imposition of control. In the same tone, Paine declares that while Society is produced by our wants, Government comes into being through our wickedness. Locke speaks of the inherent equality of man in a state of nature, which, however, by what Rousseau terms an "original social contract" man agrees to surrender in exchange for certain benefits which he hopes to derive by living as a corporate member of the social organism, without thereby sacrificing his innate freedom. For, as Rousseau explains, "Each giving himself to all gives himself to nobody". This original Social Contract, the date of which – as Carlyle slyly complains – our amiable Jean Jacques has forgotten to give us, was later violated by greed and abuse of power with the result, as Rousseau observes, that man, born

free, comes everywhere to be in chains. Christian Theists attribute this result to man's original sin, which converted Society which was meant to be a blessing into Government which can at best be called a necessary evil. Others, like Hobbes, discarding the fiction of an original state of blessedness, assert that the natural state of man is that of antipathy and conflict, so that all talk of an inherent sense of wrong and a latent aspiration for justice is a fiction created by interested parties. All these theories are based upon the assumption of man's inborn freedom and equality. But man (except in Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah*, which contemplates the possibility of science one day making man issue, adult and full-fledged, out of some huge human-egg) is everywhere born as a helpless, wailing, whining mass of flesh which cannot exist even one moment as an entity claiming equality with those around him, since these can, in a mere twinkling, and in sheer sport, wipe him out of existence. That this does not normally happen is because, as Aristotle pointed out long ago, the whole is prior to the part: the State is prior to the Family, and the Family prior to the Individual. Theories that contemplate man as an isolated Individual on some desert island - whether in a state of war or amity is an unimportant detail - are therefore fallacious. The History of Mankind does not begin with the individual but with the family, and family is state in miniature. The political history of man, accordingly, ought to begin with a given - or, as Bhīṣma puts it - with a divinely created and divinely ordained State, in which the individuals are granted perfect freedom of the will, along with certain internal and external checks upon the exercise of that freedom, call them conscience, the voice of God, or His revealed Code. It is with such a kingless state, divinely created and divinely regulated, that Bhīṣma begins the history of human polity : cf. 12. 59. 14 —

नैव राज्यं न राजासीन्न दण्डो न च दाण्डिकः ।

धर्मेणैव प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति च परस्परम् ॥

This leaves the onus for such evils as are bound to creep into that polity to an incorrect exercise by man of his divinely-gifted Free Will or, to put it otherwise, to his inherent prerogative of making mistakes. To begin human history with an original state of animosity and conflict - a struggle for existence - is showing scant courtesy to the Creator; but to endow man with freedom - even with freedom

free to slay itself - is to shift (and correctly shift) the onus of the evil in the world away from God's own shoulders ; while to pretend that the evil is only the other side of the shield and so get rid of the problem of the evil in God's fair creation (as some ultra-monistic Philosophers want to do) is utterly unrealistic, comparable to the ostrich's refusal to see the arrow that is going to kill it. When in that original kingless State, evil dominated and transcended the limits of human endurance, Prajapati, Bhīṣma tells us, intervenes for the benefit of distressed humanity, lays down a Code and commissions a duly-accredited Person - King Vainya - to see that the Code is put into operation and duly respected. It is to this subsequent stage that the so-called Social Contract belongs (cf. 39. 108-112) :

यन्मां भवन्तो वक्ष्यन्ति कार्यमर्थसमम्बितम् ।
 तदहं वै करिष्यामि नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ १०८
 तद्यक्षुरथ देवास्ते ते खैव परमर्षयः ।
 नियतो यत्र धर्मो वै तमशङ्कः समाचर ॥ १०९
 भ्रियाप्रिये परित्यज्य समः सर्वेषु जन्तुषु ।
 कामक्रोधौ च लोभं च मानं चोत्सृज्य दूरतः ॥ ११०
 यश्च धर्मात्प्रविच्छलेल्लोके कश्चन मानवः ।
 निग्राह्यस्ते स बाहुभ्यां शम्भुर्धर्ममवेक्षतः ॥ १११

It will be noted that, in this Contract, man is represented not by the elders of a given country or generation, but by Gods and Sages who are the repositories of wisdom and truth. Unhappily, a few generations later, the Royal custodian of the Code abuses his power and the wise men of the day put him to death. There comes in another chosen custodian, and the old history repeats itself once more, requiring another interference from Godhead. That is how Bhīṣma describes the Origin of the State.

But, somebody would ask, why does not the Lord of Creation repair the social machinery once and for all times ? He is a bad watchmaker who has to visit his client every week to carry out further petty repairs. The Christian conception according to which, after the very arduous six-day work of Creation, God retires into an eternal Sabbath does at least possess the merit of doing credit to His omniscience. But here we must remember that it is not that God has created man in his own likeness, but it is man, on the

contrary, who fashions his God, who is made naturally to reflect man's own Ideals of the given moment or the age. And as these Ideals are continually evolving, we need not wonder if - mythologically speaking - God is made to come down periodically to render these Ideals more and more perfect from age to age. In this connection it is also necessary to remember that, according to Hinduism, man is given more than one chance, in fact a succession of chances from one life to another, to realize the Ideal, whereas, according to Christianity, the present life is the only period available to man to achieve eternal salvation or endless damnation. The relation of God to man is thus like that of the mother who guides the early essays of her child in the art of standing erect or walking. She knows full well that the way to ultimate success is paved with repeated failures. The mother is not in any way less maternal because, knowing full well that the child is going to fall, she allows it to fall.

The philosophical postulates of the Rājadharmā are thus, as evidently they ought to be, the same as those of the Bhagavadgītā, where also we have factors like the act of primal creation, the unimpeded human Free Will, coupled with timely interferences by the Divine into the affairs of humanity with a view to make them progressively better. The Gītā has made it quite clear that this interference is gradual and even persistent, the agents in fact being no other than (i) the small unsuppressible voice of God within us, (ii) the lessons available to humanity in the world's school of experience to which all have to submit, and (iii) the guidance by precept and example by the better types of men - whom the Gītā designates Vibhūtis - that are carrying out God's Will on earth in ways more than one. Avatāra, in fact, is the name that human piety gives to the most outstanding and unusually successful from amongst the Vibhūtis above named.

The Rājadharmā has laid down detailed instructions for the regulation of the day-to-day conduct of the affairs of the State which display acute observation and a rare insight into human concerns which do credit to the author of the Epic and afford interesting peeps into contemporary life which I cannot stop here to dilate upon. The quintessence - the *navanīta* - of statecraft is for instance given in the following half-stanza which is preserved in

the thousand-year old Javanese Version of the Epic, even though the Śāntiparvan as such is no longer preserved in that version. The line (12. 72. 20 ab) runs thus :

मालाकारोपमो राजन्भव माङ्गरिकोपमः ।

The Head of the State is herein advised to be the Gardener of the State, whose duty it must be to string together diverse flowers : white, red and yellow, small or large, round or elongated, smelling or not-smelling, into a charming garland, thereby rising superior to all differences, skilfully blending all colours, sizes and aptitudes so that they might subserve the common purpose. An exclusive partiality to the whites alone or to the reds alone - I mean flowers of course - would spell universal doom. As opposed to the Gardener's is the work of the *āṅgarika*, the incendiary, who takes delight in discovering and accentuating differences and, at every available opportunity, tries to bring them within striking distance of one another so as to set the whole State machinery into a conflagration and, under cover of the fumes created in the process, to make away with whatever valuables he can lay hold upon. Who will deny that this admonition of the grand old Ācārya has an application and a moral even for our own times ?

But I must resist the temptation to dilate further upon the nature and contents of the Rājadharmā, and so, in conclusion, refer to just three circumstances which have facilitated progress in the work of editing the Śāntiparvan. In July 1947, I urged upon the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the eminent desirability, when India was on the threshold of independence, for the Government of India to do something specific to assist the publication of the Critical Edition of the Great Epic of India, and particularly, the publication of the Śāntiparvan which the B. O. R. Institute was then about to commence. I am very glad to report that Panditji agreed to the proposal and promised to give a special donation for the publication of the Śāntiparvan. A donation of Rs. 30,000 to meet the expenses of the first out of the three volumes into which the parvan is to be published was accordingly received in 1948, through the Universities Grants Committee of the Government of India. The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar was then the Chairman of that Committee and his assistance in the matter was particularly valuable.

Now that the first volume will soon be completed, it is hoped that the Government of India's grant for the remaining two volumes will also be forthcoming in due course.

Before the plan of the present Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata was taken up by the B. O. R. Institute, it will be remembered that a similar edition was planned in Europe; and in London a sum of about four-thousand pounds was collected for that purpose and placed in charge of certain Trustees. When the B. O. R. Institute's plan was approved by the International Congress of Orientalists, the Trustees of the Mahābhārata Fund in London kindly agreed to make grants out of that fund to the present edition. Accordingly, a sum of 1,490 pounds was given to assist the publication of the Virāṭa and the Udyoga Parvans. An application for a further grant was made last year and I am glad to announce that another thousand pounds has now been granted to assist the publication of the Karna-parvan, and by a curious coincidence the money was actually received this very week.

Lastly I have to gratefully mention that the University of Poona, in the very first year of its existence and in spite of its precarious financial position, thought it fit to give a grant of Rs. 2,000 for our Mahābhārata Edition for the current year without imposing any condition whatsoever. For this, the Institute's grateful thanks must be tendered to the Vice-Chancellor and all the other authorities concerned.

REVIEWS

The Mahābhārata, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar (Aug. 1925—Jan. 1943) ; S. K. Belvalkar (since April 1943). Fascicule 16. The Bhīṣmaparvan, being the sixth book of the Mahābhārata, the Great Epic of India, for the first time critically edited by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar : Part 2. Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1947; pp. 393-802 + 1-cxciii, with illustrations and facsimiles.

Before speaking of this second fascicule of Belvalkar's edition of the Bhīṣmaparvan, which concludes a third part of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, if we calculate by parvans, whereas, calculating by number of lines, we can constatate with great satisfaction that this imposing work is happily approaching to its middle, I feel obliged to give here, in obedience to a wish expressed by Prof. Belvalkar, a short résumé of the main opinions which I have expressed in different reviews of the previous volumes of the Critical Edition, written in Italian for Italian magazines.

1. Is the criterion established by the Poona editors, to try to reconstruct the primitive text, or at least the most ancient form attainable, of the Mahābhārata, a justified one ? I remember that, upon the issue of the early fascicules, the great French Sanskritist Sylvain Lévi blamed this procedure, which according to him amounted to adding another vulgate to those of Nilakanṭha and others; and proposed to print one of those older vulgates provided with the *variae lectiones* that could be obtained from the Mss. used for collations by the editorial staff of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Now, this position taken by Lévi is the only one justified for those—as, for instance, Winternitz—who see in the Mahābhārata the fortuitous coalescence of materials of every kind (to such scholars did not belong, strange to say, Sylvain Lévi) ; for, what would be the meaning of reconstructing something that had never existed ? If, on the other hand, we think that the Mahābhārata has been composed by one man (or possibly by many, constituting however a strict circle) according to a precise plan, it is the duty of an editor to try to reach, if not the original text (an ideal but unattainable result), at least something that is the least possible removed from

it. By comparing the various readings of Mss. from every part of India, the Poona editors have tried—and the results arrived at in the fascicules published upto now give them reason in full—to reach the form which the poem had before its spreading through India; in other words, the archetype which stands at the basis of the different recensions and branches of tradition.

2. How has this comparison to take place? The unforgettable Sukthankar settled some fundamental principles to be followed, which are founded on the geographical distribution of the Mss., and happen to be analogous to the principles posited by geographical linguistics for the ascertainment of the relative antiquity of two word-forms existing in different areas. It is superfluous to note that the independent yet similar results of two different sciences, both dealing with the transmission through the ages of the products of human thought, viz. textual criticism and linguistics, vouch for their correctness. So, after the accord of all Mss., the best combination is that of the Kashmiri recension, specially as represented by Ś, with S, at least with its Malayālam branch; the accord between the extreme North and the extreme South being the proof of the originality of a reading that has been left untouched by a new reading which has originated and has spread itself in the central area. In the same way, when a linguist sees that a word like Skr. *saparyati* 'he worships' finds its correspondence at the other end of the Indo-European world, in Latin *sepelit* 'he buries, gives the last honours', he must conclude that this word was once the property of the dialects that, at the time of the old unity, separated the pre-Indian from the pre-Latin ones.—Next comes the accord between S and BD against v (= Ś + K): the greater number of the regions in which a reading is spread gives generally a good support to the opinion that this reading is older than the one less diffused. Similarly, if we see that, to a word like Skr. *sapta*, Latin *septem*, Old Irish *secht*, Gothic *sibun*, Slavic *sedmī*, Lithuanian *septynī*, correspond Greek *heptá*, Old Iranian *hapta*, Armenian *euthn*, we must conclude that the original S- has become H-, or disappeared-, in three languages, rather than that, in place of H- or nought, S- has been added at the beginning of the word 'seven' in seven languages.*

* [The case would of course be a little altered if the Ś + K reading is a *lectio difficilior* and the BDS a *lectio facilior*. In such a case, the wider geographical distribution is of no special significance. — S. K. B.]

3. Which are the reasons of changes from the original text? In most cases, naturally, blunders of copyists, emendations or small additions by readers or editors, and so on, as it happens in the tradition of every author; longer additions or omissions can have similar origins, specially in matters of religion and the like. But by the side of these easily recognisable cases, there are others, in which we find two or more parallel texts which, in non-critical editions, for instance, in Nilakantha editions, are often given one after the other (e. g. Śalya's and Karna's exchange of invectives in the Karṇaparvan). Here we must think of the manner according to which the author of our Mahābhārata has gone to work. He had before him an older Bhārata (or Mahābhārata) and a great mass of epic, religious, didactic and other materials which he not only felt no reason for avoiding to incorporate into his poem, but which often he accepted in it in order to preserve for younger generations the best of the ancient traditions of India. As a poet, nay as a great poet, however, he must have adapted and re-elaborated this material; at times then he must have chosen between two or more redactions of the same *upākhyāna* or of the same ethical rules. Hence the possibility that, when the poem reached the various parts of India, the original or the local form was substituted for, or added to, that form worked over or chosen by the author; and so on.

* * * * *

The Bhīṣmaparvan is one of the most widely read (and of course one of the most beautiful) parvans; and it includes the Bhagavadgītā together with the narrative of the last exploits of the noble Bhīṣma, who is the incarnation of the ideal of a perfect warrior as postulated by Kṛṣṇa. Prof. Belvalkar was hence confronted with a delicate and arduous task, more arduous perhaps than that which lay before some of his fellow editors. That he has fulfilled this task most brilliantly needs hardly to be remarked: his work has been already for some time (first fascicule 1945!) in the hands of connoisseurs, and their judgment cannot be other than unanimous in acknowledging that Belvalkar has kept the promises that his previous works on various topics regarding the Mahābhārata, and above all his proekdosis (1941) and the beautiful translation (1943) of the Bhagavadgītā (this last with an introduction which solves many knotty points in the interpretation of the

poem) had made to the Indologists. It is welcome that in his introduction to the Bhīṣmaparvan volume some new features have been added to those usual in the Critical Edition: for instance, the very useful "Pedigree of the Bhīṣmaparvan Mss.", which gives the reader a clear idea of the interferences and contaminations that have taken place between the different branches of the tradition, so that only a few Mss. can be considered as the pure representatives of an unmixed transmission from the archetype, such as, in particular, Ś₁ and M₁; similarly, after the Appendixes, come, also as an innovation, Critical Notes bearing on textual criticism, interpretation of words and passages, comparison with other works, specially Purāṇas, bibliography, etc.: highly useful to the reader and witness to a superior knowledge of the whole field of Mahābhārata studies¹.

Prof. Belvalkar has given us more a recensio than an emendated text; on p. cxxvii he says: "as to outright emendations, I have allowed myself only eight of them"². I approve highly of

¹ There remains in the introduction a thing that is obscure to me. In the critical apparatus to 6.23 it is said that "K₄ Da₂ om. adhy. 23-40"; and I was anxious to see why the whole Bhagavadgītā is ignored in these Mss. For Da₂, I have had this curiosity satisfied by the description of the manuscript given on p. XXXIII of the Introduction: it is evident that the Bhagavadgītā had been written apart by the amanuensis, and had not been bound together with the two other parts of the parvan, which are separately paginated. But about the omission of the Bhagavadgītā in K₄, nothing is said on p. XXIX, nor on p. X of the Editorial Note to the reprint of Bhagavadgītā (Poona 1945).

[Very likely, K₄ omits the Gītā for the same reason as Da₂; but the Ms. has been returned to the Dacca University — which is now in Pakistan — and it is difficult to get the point further clarified. The Ms. was described as composite, written by more than one scribe. — S. K. B.]

² All of them most keen and probable; only in 6.59.11⁴ (sic) I don't well understand why Belvalkar has substituted *cābhībhūḥ* for the *cābhībhūḥ* of Ś₁ K_{1.3} D_{3.6}; short *u* is advocated also by many other Mss. in which the word has been subjected to deformations.

[*Abhībhūḥ* (voc. °bho) is, like *māriṣa*, *mahābāho*, *puruṣarābha*, etc., one of the numerous "Epic Tags" or padding devices, which recurs in 6.4⁷.20⁴; 50.40⁶; 59.12⁴. Scribes simplify it by *abhitāḥ*, **vidhuḥ* (°bho), **prabhuḥ* (°bho), *Bhārata*, or the like. In 6.59.11⁴ (not 11⁴) where the variants recur but where the correct form of the word in long *ūḥ* happens not to be amongst the variants, the emendation *cābhībhūḥ* appeared justified by analogy. The short °uḥ ending, which is incorrect, points to the influence of the normal *prabhu* or *vidhu* substitutions. The word is derived from √ *bhū* and signifies one who assails and overcomes. — S. K. B.]

39 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

such modesty, which offers to the reader the results of the recension without interposing between those and him the subjective views of the editor. It is, therefore, with great apprehension that I present here a few proposals for emendation which a by-leaps reading of this magnificent parvan has suggested to me.

6. 85. 2 ff. (Dhṛtarāṣṭra speaks) :

ahany ahani me putrah kṣayam gacchanti sañjaya ।
 manye 'ham sarvathā sūta daivenopahatā bhṛṣam ॥ 2 ॥
 yatra me tanayāḥ sarve jiyante na jayanty uta ।
 yatra bhīṣmasya droṇasya kṛpasya ca mahātmanah ॥ 3 ॥

... ..

anyeṣāṃ caiva virāṇāṃ madhyagās tanayā mama ।
 yad ahanyanta saṃgrāme kim anyad bhāgadheyataḥ ॥ 5 ॥

In 3 the *ya*— of the first *yatra* is designated by the undulated line ; in fact it is difficult to say why *yatra* would be better than *S tatra*, if it were not the case that both the readings are pretty embarrassing. If we accept *tatra*, we must stop after 5c : “ My sons are all defeated, they don't overwhelm the enemies *there*, where my sons are the fellows of Bhīṣma, etc.”. If we retain *yatra*, we have a rather curious construction : “ Was it the fate if, *where* my sons all are defeated and don't overwhelm the enemies, where my sons are the fellows of Bhīṣma etc., they were killed in that battle ? ” I find it rather unsupportable that Dhṛtarāṣṭra would say : “ My sons were killed in that battle where they are defeated, etc. ”.

I think that in this case the discrepancy between N and S is due to an original error in N that S has tried to remove. The word at the beginning of 3 was once, according to me, *yadi*, and 3^{ab} is to be read together with 2^a : “ I think, Sūta, that they must be completely and strongly adversed by Destiny, if my sons are all defeated, etc.” Then : *If*, in that battle where they were the fellows of Bhīṣma etc. my sons have been killed, what else is that than Fate ? ”.

If this be true, we must suppose that, as a first change, *yatra* has been substituted, rather thoughtlessly, for *yadi* under the influence of the *yatra* which opened the second hemistich ; next, in S, the difficulty of understanding this *yatra* has been felt, and an

attempt to obviate it brought in the emendation *tatra*, which obliterated completely any remains of the old *yadi*.*

6. 87. 5. On hearing a tremendous roaring of Ghaṭotkaca, Sañjaya says to Dhṛtarāṣṭra,

Sarva eva ca rājendra tāvakā dinacetasaḥ |
sarpavat samaveṣṭanta śimhabhītā gaṇā iva || 5 ||

So reads the Critical Edition : but I don't well understand what is meant by : "they were surrounded like serpents ; like elephants frightened by lions". A better sense is given by a reading which, as I see from the apparatus, is diffused in the North : K_{3,4} B₂₋₄ Da Dn D_{1,2,4-8} have *samaceṣṭanta*, "they acted like serpents, etc.", although this is not yet very perspicuous. The undulated line under *sarpa*- shows that the editor was in doubt between this and the other reading, *carma*-, probably not because *carmavat* gives a better meaning, but on account of this reading being testified by almost all Mss. of the S recension.

On these premises, my attention has been attracted by the reading of a Southern Ms., G₂, which gives *carmavarmaveṣṭanta*, designated by Belvalkar as "corrupt." Indeed, as it actually is, this reading is corrupt ; yet methinks that it gives us some important elements for the restitution of the original text. Above all, its *-ceṣṭanta* answers to the *samaceṣṭanta* which we did meet in a number of Northern Mss. and affords to it a not insignificant support. Then *carmavarma* looks like an attempt to emendate something else, that is, *carmacarma*-, which I assume to be a blunder for *sarpacarma*-, the whole *pāda* sounding in its original form : *sarpacarmavac ceṣṭanta* "They acted like the skin of a serpent ; as elephants do when frightened by lions," viz. they hesitated and moved to and fro, as the serpent-skin does or seems to do when this animal is advancing.

The assumed *ceṣṭanta* is naturally an augmentless imperfect. Such forms are not rare in the Mahābhārata. I give here some of them which I wrote down when reading in extenso the *Ādiparvan*

* [I fully agree with the proposed interpretation of the passage. The word *yatra* in 3^a does mean 'inasmuch as' or 'since', and this sense is given in FW, sub vocs, 4). There is hence no need to emend *yatra* into *yadi*, as *-tra* is given by all Mss. — S. K. B.]

edited by Sukthankar : *jayata* I. 11. 13 ; *rdhyata* I. 58. 8 ; *vinīṣṭat* Append. 699* after I. 71. 31 ; *parivarayan* I. 96. 21 ; *abhyasta* I. 123. 4 ; *upadhavat* and *abhidravat*, Append. 1651*, lines 11 and 13 after I. 151. 13 ; *upakalpayat* I. 155. 30 ; *ghnata* I. 170. 3 ; *nābhyavapadyata* I. 171. 8 ; *abhipajayan* I. 181. 14 ; *samupaniyata* I. 192. 1 ; *jñāpayat* I. 207. 16.¹ The readings of all Mss. except G₂ must have their origin in an attempt to restore the augment of *ceṣṭanta* : this could happen by writing only *sarpavat* or *carmavat*. Probably the first one who brought this change (and added the preposition *sa-* before *ceṣṭanta* in order to restore the number of the syllables) wrote *sarpavat* and added in the margin the variant *carmavat* (or vice versa) ; but it is also possible that the “corrected” version with only *sarpa-* (or *carma-*) was substituted by the other one after collation with some old Ms. that conserved the original reading.

This “correction,” if it restored grammatical regularity, destroyed the meaning of the evident comparison ; and a consequence of this was that it became completely indifferent whether *samaceṣṭanta* was substituted by *samaveṣṭanta* : both readings equally gave a confused and harrassing sense.*

6. 115. 54. The brave Bhīṣma on his kṣatriya bed refuses the help of doctors :

naiṣa dharmo mahipālāḥ śaratalpagatasya me ।

etair eva śaraiś cāhaṃ dagdhavyo 'nte narādhipāḥ ॥ 54 ॥

Here 'nte bears the undulated line. Yet, it is not difficult to see

¹ The opposite phenomenon, an aorist with the augment used as prohibitive imperative with *mā*, is found in I. 147. 16 : *mā kālo 'tyagād ayam*.

* [The edition reads *samaveṣṭanta* and not *samaveṣṭyanta* so that ‘they were surrounded’ would not be an apt rendering, but rather ‘they twisted or coiled themselves around’, which suggests the comparison with snakes coiling around a tree or simply coiling round and round, which they are wont to do either when thoroughly frightened or before taking a leap. Such an intransitive (or reflexive) use of $\sqrt{\text{veṣṭa}}$ is illustrated in Mbh. I. 47. 21 — [*sarpāḥ*] *veṣṭayantaḥ tathā para* (v. l. *parasparam*) *pucchaiḥ śirobhiḥ*. — That the proposed new pāda—*sarpacarmavacceṣṭanta*—with its long fifth syllable—is metrically unsmooth is not a defect to be made much of in Epic versification ; but while describing the movements of a live snake, who would think of describing the to-and-fro motion of the *skin* of the snake, rather than of the snake itself ? Frightened snakes are known to coil themselves round some tree or round their own body. — S. K. B.]

that this is the oldest reading : only because its meaning was very obscure, 'nte has been substituted by the obvious 'gnau in S and by the non-significant 'smi, hi or vai of some Northern Mss. But 'gnau also is not a happy emendation : Bhīṣma is not pointing to what will burn him *after* his death, because he is speaking of the arrows that are tormenting him ; dagdhavyo does not mean an actual burning, but a painful dying away.

But 'nte also has no significance : otherwise it would not have been substituted by agnau. What can be the meaning of : Bhīṣma will be consumed by the arrows "at the end" ? Because I don't think that 'nte can be taken to signify "to the end" (antaḥ yāvat). The mischief is probably due to a false division and separation of 'nte from the following na. The original reading may have been :

etaiḥ eva śaraiḥ cāhaṃ dagdhavyo 'ntena cādhipaḥ ||¹

A scribe was led to see, in the continuous writing, narādhipaḥ in place of 'na cādhipaḥ, and has further written ra for ca, which was easy enough on account of the similarity of these akṣaras in certain Northern alphabets of the IX-XIII centuries. This brought the consequence that 'nte remained isolated from the following na. *

Milan, Italy

Vittore Pisani

¹ anta- means here the approaching of death, as in Belvalkar's skilful emendation of 6.55.16 — *antapīḍāvikarṣiṇaḥ.

* [The emended line, etaiḥ śaraiḥ aham antena dagdhavyo, is understood by the reviewer to mean that Bhīṣma expects and desires to die in consequence of the excruciating pain that the arrows are causing him. He boldly welcomes that mode of meeting his end and does not wish any prolongation of the agonies of death with the help of the doctors. Cf. 6.116.9.17. In the description of Bhīṣma's funeral in the Anuśāsanaparvan, chapters 167-168, it is nowhere stated that the arrows supplied part of the fuel for his cremation, and that would strengthen the proposed interpretation. Nevertheless, like the ūhiṭāgni sacrificer of whom it is said "Tam yajñapātraiḥ dahanti", the warrior, it would seem, was burnt along with his bow, arrows and other weapons (cf. RV. X. 18.9 and the corresponding viniyoga); and so Bhīṣma desires the doctors not to attempt removal of the darts, not only because of the resulting mitigation of the agonies — which he does not desire, — but also because the arrows are to be burnt with his body after his passing away (anta). The case for the very skilful emendation suggested does not therefore appear to me to be very strong. — S. K. B.]

RGVEDA SAMHITĀ WITH THE COMMENTARY OF
SAYANĀCĀRYA, Vols. III & IV (Maṇḍalas VI to X);
Vaidika Saṁsodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1941, 1946;
pp. 17 + 64 + 966; 102 + 1004; Price, Rs. 24, 25.

It was indeed the covetable privilege of Max Müller that he could give the world the first complete edition of the Rgveda with Sāyana's commentary which he began in 1849 and completed in 1874. In the mean time came Aufrecht's edition of only the text in Roman which is not widely known in India. Between 1880 and 1888 came the Bombay edition of the Rgveda with Sāyana's commentary; and about the same time Max Müller published his second edition. It is at least two decades now since all these editions became out of print. It is thus very commendable that the Vaidika Saṁsodhana Maṇḍala at Poona undertook the edition of the Rgveda with Sāyana's commentary as its very first enterprise.

The first Volume of this new edition was issued in 1933 and the second in 1936. The third and the fourth Volumes which are now under review were published respectively in 1941 and 1946. Another Volume containing the different indices is promised. The exact scheme concerning this Volume is not given, but we hope these indices will include the *anukramaṇīs* of Kātyāyana and Śaunaka re-edited where possible with the help of all available Mss.

It must be said to the credit of the Poona edition of the Rgveda that it is, in many respects, a great improvement on the work of its predecessors. It has been possible here to correct many an earlier wrong reading and to fill up many an earlier gap. The editors have had enough Mss. material at their disposal unlike their predecessors to whom fewer Mss. were available, and the presence of earlier editions should have saved them considerable spade-work so necessary in editing a work for the first time. The editors feel that they could have brought out 'a more authentic edition' were Mss. older than those in their possession available. The oldest Ms. they could make use of, though in-

complete, is dated Samvat 1452 (Preface to Vol. III, p. vi) and I wonder whether any earlier Ms. is at all existent ! Sāyana himself could not have lived very much earlier. Further it seems to me that we often overrate the importance of the number of Mss. used in the preparation of a text. Amassing of Mss. is just a preliminary item in the *apparatus criticus* where " Higher Criticism " should play the dominant part. In so far as this edition is concerned the editorial principles are, in general, quite sound though the preference of the editors for the Devanāgarī Mss. over Grantha and Malayalam Mss., however good, appears rather arbitrary.

A special feature of Vol. IV is that it gives the text of the Khilas as given in the Kashmir Ms. discovered by Bühler and now preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Dr. Scheftelowitz was the first to publish these Khilas when in Roman he brought out his *Apokryphen des Rgveda* (Bonn, 1906). A few gaps in this edition are now filled up and some supplementations made with the help of the Aundh edition of the Rgveda and two Mss. procured from Junagadh and Nawagar. One would wish that the editors had adopted the same system of accentuation in the Khila portion as in the case of the main text of the Rgveda.

With the recent discovery of nearly a dozen pre-Sāyana commentators it can no longer be maintained that Sāyana had no tradition before him and that his interpretations are entirely fanciful and flippant. True that he is often inconsistent and many of his etymologies are speculative ; but even then there can be no denial of the fact that his commentary is a very great aid in the understanding of the Veda. No apology is, therefore, necessary in making his commentary available to students of the Veda. The Poona Edition of the Rgveda which is almost complete now, satisfies a real want, It is worthy of its association with the names of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, the value of whose contributions to Indology in general and Vedic studies in particular can never be overestimated.

H. G. Narahari.

**A SHORT SURVEY INTO (?) THE MUSIC OF NORTH
AND SOUTH INDIA (Rs. 2/—). by S. R. Kuppuswami,
B. A., M. Mus. Coimbatore (S. I.)**

This is a small booklet of 90 pages which though ready for Press long before the war could see the light of the day only long after its close. It aims, as the author says, at the Synthesis of Hindu Music in order that the entire Indian nation may have and sing 'One Song'.

Evidently the author examines the history and evolution of music in India and divides the same into three distinct epochs - the Hindu, the Mohammadan and the Modern epochs respectively. In the first, the nation had but one song; in the second, according to popular belief the music practices of the North and the South began to show distinct biluration, though the theory of both outwardly remained the same, while in the third owing to the intimate knowledge of the experimental side of the laws of music and of acoustics in general many of our educated and musically gifted scholars came to rediscover the fundamental unity between the systems and have been trying to bring them closer together. Mr. Kuppuswami's present attempt is one of this type, and before putting up his case he has given a brief summary of the relevant facts from well-known treatises on the Music of both the North and the South.

The history of Indian Music has however many loopholes and lacks in really trustworthy evidence. Tradition, folk-lore, court records and anecdotes of hostile foreign rulers *are all accepted as equally reliable* and true. Again many of the music books in Sanskrit are more or less mere imitations of the older ones, in spite of the fact that the music of their times was quite different in its conventions and practice. Our scholars therefore either make too much of the old books or condemn them altogether. A careful search and analysis of the internal and external evidence of each one must however be made in the light of the chronological and contemporary evidence, before it is used. Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras has done some noteworthy work in this direction and it

should guide our music scholars of the future. Mr. Kuppuswami has however drawn freely on the old books and anecdotes and in his way put up a case for the fusion of the two systems - whether a boon or a loss one cannot say !

In my opinion, the two systems are a double acquisition and are not a matter of regret necessarily. What is really wanted is common notation and terminology and the removal of the Rāga names such as 'Shree, Hindol', which though same in name, are different in their scales in each one of the two systems. It is the Rāgas that differ and not the theory.

In books intended for readers from all over India, the Sanskrit terms and names should be correctly given. South Indian scholars often give them with the local pronunciation, which is disquieting to those knowing the original terms in Sanskrit. I hope Mr. Kuppuswami will give them correctly in all his future publications.

G. H. Ranade.

TODARANANDA, Vol. I. (The Ganga Oriental Series-No. 5.

Edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., D. Litt. Published by Anup Sanskrit Library., Bikaner, 1948. pp. xxxi + 414, price not given).

It is one of the basic needs of the present Sanskrit Scholarship, to have the critically edited texts of the Sanskrit works, which are either unscientifically edited or still lying unpublished in the various Sanskrit MSS. Libraries. The Anup Library of Bikaner and Dr. Vaidya, the editor of this volume, therefore deserve our congratulations in bringing out this encyclopaedic work on Dharmaśāstra, compiled under the patronage of Raja Todarmal. The whole work consists of about 80,000 verses. It is divided into the following 22 sections, such as, Creation, Incarnations, Calculation of time, Fixing time for religious performances, Suitable places for constructing houses, the rites of a Dvija, Śrāddha, Observances during the year, Vows, Installation of images, Daily worship, Gifts, Pacification of deities, Pilgrimage and warfare, Marriage, Legal procedure, Politics, Expiation,

40 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

Fruits of actions in the next world, and Medicine. In addition, there is also the 23rd section dealing with occult sciences. Thus the work covers all branches of the Dharmaśāstra and the contemporary learning. The present volume deals with the first two sections. The whole work must have been composed between A. D. 1572-1589. Todarmal, the finance minister and the most important statesman of Akbar, was a man of great learning, a patron of arts and sciences and a pious and devout Hindu. At Benares, he came in contact with Jagadguru Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the famous Pandit. It was he, who inspired Todarmal to prepare a compendium of Hindu culture, which was in great danger under the Muslim rule. The work was carried out by a syndicate of the Pandits of Benares, under the supervision of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. It culled relevant passages from the Smṛtis, Purāṇas and other works, sometimes adding the explanatory notes and thus presented a united front of the Orthodox Hindu religion in the form of the present work, which should be taken as an authority by its followers. The work is generally free from sectarian influence, although the description of the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa occupies 187 pages, thus giving prominence to Kṛṣṇa worship. This seems to be due to the fact that Todarmal himself was a great devotee of Kṛṣṇa. The whole encyclopaedic work, when published, will be a great help to know the contemporary religious life, learning and the influence of Islam on Hindu religion. The value of the present volume is enhanced by the learned Foreword by Major Sardar K. M. Panikkar, dealing with the life of Todarmal, scholarly introduction by the editor, and three Appendices containing the extracts from AIN-I-Akbari of Abul Fazl, extracts from Manirāma's Padyasaṁgraha, glorifying Todarmal and the MSS. material of the various sections of Todarānanda.

N. J. Shende.

पुणे नगर वाचन मंदिराचा "शंभर वर्षांचा इतिहास" (१८४८-१९४८)

by G. N. Shrigondekar, B.A.; Published by S. K. Neurgaonkar, B.E.; President, Nagar Vācana Mandir, Poona City, 12th May 1949; Pages:— 6 + 200; Price Rs. 5, Size :— 10" × 6½"

To a poor educated man a library is more than a dukedom. J. Dyer correctly observes: "Libraries are the wardrobes of literature, whence men, properly informed, might bring forth something for ornament, much for curiosity and more for use." This observation is truly applicable to a City Library like the Poona City General Library, an accurate history of which for the last hundred years has been systematically recorded in the volume under review by my friend and colleague Shri G. N. Shrigondekar, Librarian of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

It is not an easy task to write the history of an institution like the Poona City General Library for a period of hundred years. To collect materials for such a history from the scanty records of this Library and to supplement them from all other sources is a herculean task, which no one else except the author of the present volume could have executed within the period of a year. Much more difficult is the work of sifting the materials and giving us a connected history of the library. It is, therefore, highly creditable to the author that he should be able to give us in the present volume an authentic and accurate history of an institution, with which he has been closely connected for the last twenty-three years, being a member of its Managing Committee throughout this period and acting for different periods as its Secretary, Vice-President, and President. The spirit of public service and self-less devotion to duty have alone been responsible for the production of the volume before us, and for the author's singular success in gathering no less than Rs. 4100/- for the printing of the volume. The author enjoys quite a reputation among his friends for collecting funds for worthy public causes, social, literary or philanthropic.

The Poona City General Library was founded on the 7th February 1848 with its headquarters in the Peshwa's Wada in the Budhawar Peth. This Wada was destroyed by fire on the 18th May 1879. Ten years after this event the Library was permanently housed in its own building on 1st April 1889 (*Caitra Śuddha Prulipadā*) and on 23rd October 1921 its original name "Poona Native General Library" was changed to "Poona City General Library." During the period of the last 27 years (1921-1948) the growth of the Library has been very rapid and remarkable in all respects owing to its good fortune in getting very zealous and self-less workers like the author of the volume under notice. We feel confident that this institution, an ornament to the historic City of Poona will grow like the banyan tree and spread its roots and branches over the whole area of the Poona City Corporation which has just come into existence. It is the sacred duty of every citizen to water this tree of knowledge which has already lived for a hundred years and given the benefit of its shade to many a thirsty traveller on the pathway to knowledge, material or spiritual.

In concluding this short notice of a great volume, which may serve as a model to those who desire to record the activities and achievements of all long-lived institutions in India we must not fail to congratulate the General Body of the Poona City General Library upon its thoughtful decision in appointing a special sub-committee for the preparation of the volume before us and in particular upon its wisdom and foresight in entrusting the work of preparing the volume to Shri G. N. Shrigondekar with the full and willing co-operation of this sub-committee. The members of this sub-committee also deserve our warmest thanks and congratulations.

P. K. Gode

VAIKHĀNASĪYA KĀŚYAPA-JŪNĀKĀṆḌA, edited by
Pandit R. P. Bhattachar, *Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Series*
No. 12; S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati, 1948; Pages
(ii + 20 + 174); Price Rs. 5.

The S. V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati, has been publishing valuable critical editions of Sanskrit texts, some of which were not hitherto much known or published. The *Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa* is one such text. It belongs to the *Vaikhānasas*, a very old sect of the Vaiṣṇavas. The sect follows the *Vaikhānasa Kalpasūtra* of the Black Yajurveda in their Vedic and domestic ritual. The *Vaikhānasas* have a large religious literature, relating to worship in temples, of which the *Saṁhitās* of Marīci, Atri, Kāśyapa, and Bhṛgu are important. The temple of Śrīnivāsa at Tirumalai is a *Vaikhānasa* temple. The authorities of this temple undertook some years ago the publication of ancient works belonging to their sect. In 1939 the S. V. Oriental Institute was started and with the consent of these authorities it took over the publication of these works in their series. The *Vimānārcana-kalpa* of Marīci was published by the authorities of the above temple prior to this arrangement. The S. V. Oriental Institute brought out the *Samūrtārcanādhikaraṇa* of Atri in 1943, which is now followed by the *Kāśyapa Jñānakāṇḍa* before us, edited by Pandit R. Parthasarathi, the *Vaikhānasa* Pandit at this Institute, assisted by other scholars.

The editor has given in his learned Sanskrit Introduction an account of the 11 palm-leaf and paper Mss on which the present critical edition of the *Jñānakāṇḍa* is based. Śrī P. V. Rāmānuja Svāmī, the General Editor of the S. V. O. Series and Director of the S. V. Ori. Institute has promised in his Preface to the present edition a separate volume of English Introduction comprising an account of the *Vaikhānasa* sect and their literature, which would be very valuable to the students of Sanskrit literature and history of Hindu religion.

Being interested in the chronology of this work I had written to its editor to inform me about the limits for its date as fixed by him. I record below most gratefully his views in this matter as communicated by him in his letter of 7-8-1948 :—

(1) " This *Kāśyapa-Saṁhitā* should date immediately after the *Vaikhānasa-Kalpasūtra*,—which would be evident from the reading of the text itself. My own view is that *Rṣis*, *Bṛghu*, *Atri*, *Marici* and *Kāśyapa* were contemporaries and possibly the disciples of the great *Vaikhānasa*, and that they produced their works during the life-time of or immediately after their *guru*."

(2) " The earliest mention of the *Vaikhānasa-Kalpasūtra* is found in the *Bodhāyana-Sūtra* which is acknowledged to be the earliest of the *Sūtras* in the Vedic period according to oriental scholars. I have, therefore, no hesitation to state that the *Vaikhānasa-Kalpasūtra* and the *Saṁhitās* date earlier to the *Bodhāyana* period".

After the volume of English Introduction about the *Vaikhānasa* literature promised by Śrī P. V. Rāmānujasvāmī is published we shall be in a position to examine the above views of Pandit Parthasarathi in their proper historical perspective; in the meanwhile we have to record our best thanks to him and the Director of the S. V. Ori. Institute for their service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by bringing out the present critical edition of the *Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍa* of the *Vaikhānasa* School of the *Vaiṣṇavas*.

P. K. Gode.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE
ADYAR LIBRARY — Vol. VI (Grammar, Prosody and
Lexicography) by Pandit V. Krishnamacharya (under
the supervision of Dr. C. K. Raja) — The Adyar Library
Series No. 60 (Diamond Jubilee Volume), Adyar,
Madras, 1947; Pages xxii+450; Price Rs. 25.;
Size 7¼" × 10"

Indologists all over the world will welcome the present volume of the Descriptive Catalogue compiled with meticulous care by Pandit Krishnamacharya, an eminent scholar with the

necessary learning and experience for executing such arduous work under the guidance of Dr. C. K. Raja, the Hon. Director of the Adyar Library. This volume is prepared generally according to the plan followed in the preparation of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Vedic MSS*, already published by the Adyar Library in 1942. We await with eagerness the subsequent volumes in the scheme of this Catalogue.

The volume contains descriptions of 1037 MSS as follows :—

(1) *Grammar* (Nos. 1-746) ; (2) *Prosody* (Nos. 747-794) ; (3) *Lexicography* (Nos. 795-1026) ; and (4) *Supplement* (Nos. 1027-1037). *Appendix I* is an *Index of Works Noticed* ; *Appendix II* contains an *Index of Authors* and *Appendix III* is a *General Index*. All these Appendices (pp. 419-450) enhance the reference value of the volume. In his scholarly Introduction Dr. Raja has dealt with the importance of all the manuscript-material described in the volume and allied problems. While congratulating the learned author of the present volume on his splendid performance and Dr. Raja on his inspiring Introduction we fully endorse the latter's remarks about the importance of MSS libraries which read as follows :—

“ These libraries take our thoughts backwards through many milleniums and during these long periods, the country had developed and maintained a high standard of civilization in an unbroken way. This is a feature that is unique for the Indian nation, in the whole world. May these libraries, which are the fond care of a few specialists in the present generation, be the pride of the future generations, and let them form the strong pedestals for the erection of a lasting civilization in India in the eternal years of glory yet to come to the country and to humanity. ”

P. K. Gode.

THE ALL INDIA AYURVEDIC DIRECTORY (Fifth Edition) 1949. Edited by N. S. Mooss. Published by Vaidya Sarathy. Kottayam (S. India). Price Rs. 7/8/-

The All India Āyurvedic Directory edited by N. S. Mooss has gone through its fifth edition, and contains seven parts, devoted respectively to (1) The Science of Āyurveda, (2) Āyurveda in Kerala, (3) Āyurvedic Activities, (4) Institutions and Pharmacies, (5) Who is who in Āyurveda, (6) The late prominent Āyurvedists and (7) Addresses of Physicians. The book is well printed and got up and contains over three hundred pages. As the editor in his preface acknowledges, some of the institutions described in the book have added substantially to their work and scope since the editor first learnt of them. But as he had had no opportunity to revise the original statements, the directory is not up-to-date to that extent. This defect can easily be remedied in the next edition.

The methods of inunction and other ancient procedures obtaining even today in Kerala are depicted clearly in the part concerned. The mass of information contained in other parts of the book is useful to the general reader and to the professional Vaidya particularly.

This book gives a true estimate of the popularity of the Āyurvedic Science of treatment among the many provinces of this country and the amount of service and relief that the country at large owes to the practitioners of the medicine. To the Government of India, this should serve as a reminder to hasten their pace of rehabilitation of this science and give it the fullest opportunity to grow and contribute its unique benefits towards the building up of a healthy, strong and long-lived humanity. Every practitioner of medicine has need to possess a copy of this Directory. Congratulations are due for their enterprising spirit, to the publishers of this useful volume.

P. M. Mehta,

CULTURAL HISTORY OF KARNATAKA (Ancient and Medieval) by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, Karnataka Vidya-vardhaka Sangha, Dharwar 1947.

This is a panoramic survey of Karnataka culture from the earliest times to the end of Vijayanagara rule. It begins with an account of the pre-historic antiquities in Karnataka, namely the microliths at Maski and Brahmagiri, the cromlechs at Konnur, Agadi and Ramatirta hill near Badami, and the carvings and drawings of Gombigudda and Kappagallu. Much reliance is placed by the author on the readings of Mohenjo Daro inscriptions by Rev. H. Heras. On the basis of these readings it is stated that there were certain tribes in Karnataka called the Minas and that Karnataka had the name of Kannanir in the pre-historic period. It is still too early to accept these readings, as correct. The next chapter contains a good discussion of the boundaries between Maharashtra and Karnataka and then gives an outline of the political history of Karnataka. While discussing the light thrown by the edicts of Asoka on the early history of Karnataka, the author identifies Isila, which is mentioned in the Brahmagiri inscription, with Aihole. Dr. M. H. Krishna identified Isila with Brahmagiri, for the Brahmagiri inscription is addressed to the Mahamatras of Isila. The latter identification is more probable.

The political outline is intended to help the understanding of cultural history, which forms the core of the work. The administrative machinery under the important dynasties is concisely described. Under economic conditions, the trade relations between Karnataka, the rest of India, China and the West are traced. There is also an illuminating account of the trade guilds. Under society, caste system, family and position of women are dealt with. The chapter on education gives an account of the agraharas temples and monasteries as educational institutions.

Then follow histories of Kannada language and literature and art and architecture. While the architecture and sculpture of Badami, Halebid, Belur and Sravana Belgola are well-known to all lovers of art, we cannot say the same thing about Kannada literature. Works like the present and prof. R. S. Mugalis'

Heritage of Karnataka, will help the non-Kannada public to get acquainted with the greatness of Kannada literature. The last chapter is about philosophy, religion and mysticism. The author has made a special study of this aspect of Karnataka culture and his account of the Kannada saints is masterly. The work is analytical and concise and serves well the purpose of a hand-book of Karnataka culture.

G. S. Dikshit.

ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF THE TAMILS. V. R. Ramachandra
Dikshitar, The Adyar Library, 1947, — Rs. 3/8/-

This is a course of two lectures delivered in the University of Madras, under the Sankara-Parvati endowment. The various theories now current, regarding the origin of the Dravidians, here called as the Tamils, on the basis of linguistic and ethnological grounds, which assert that the Dravidians came from outside India, are here controverted. The author's view is that "the so-called Mediterranean race had its origin in Peninsular India, which was a part of the original Dravidian home which was in the submerged continent that connected South India with Africa, when the Indo-Gangetic basin had not yet probably been formed. So the Dravidian element is not to be found in Indian culture alone but is largely traceable in Cretan, Aegean, Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Polynesian and other cultures of ancient world." This conclusion brings the first lecture to a close.

The second lecture is devoted to trace the spread of Tamil culture abroad. It examines the contacts between South India on the one hand and Rome, Mesopotamia, Ceylon, Indonesia and China on the other. It then tries to establish how many features of civilisation such as primitive irrigation, fishing and boat-building, first arose in South India. It is claimed that many characteristics peculiar to South India are seen in the arts and crafts, in the religious and social systems, of the Indus Valley, Sumeria, Egypt and Crete. He gives the examples of offering the hair, cult of the snakes, worship of the moon, cult of the bull, phallic cult, cult of the mother goddess, and matrilineal system. His conclusion is that South India "civilised the ancient world by its arts and crafts,

by its religion and language". This is a very bold claim and it can be sustained only by excavation in South India. The author is quite justified in his plea that more excavation is necessary in South India. A notable feature of the book is the notes which carry further, the discussion of certain points, raised in the course of the lectures.

G. S. Dikshit

THE CRADLE OF INDIAN HISTORY. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, The Adyar Library - 1947 - Rs. 3/8/-

This work seeks to examine the accounts given in the Mahabharata, about the home and expansion of the early Hindus. The following reconstruction of the most ancient history of the Aryans is made on the basis of the account in Mahabharata. The Hindus of the pre-vedic and Vedic periods were settled in the country of Ilavarta which lay to the north of the Himalayas including the north western portions of India and in the country occupied by modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the eastern parts of Persia. This has been called as the Deva country. From this original home must have emigrated the Asuras (Assyrians) who were the earlier lords and so known as Purvadevas, Suras and Danavas.

The vedic lords Indra, and other Adityas, Vasus, Rudras were descended from Prajapatis like Daksha. Kashyapa etc. These patriarchs were the common ancestors of the Vedic Devas and the Asuras. The Asuras ruled before the Devas. The Prajapatis were the ancestors not only of the Devas and the Asuras, but also of the Manus, the progenitors of the Manavas, among whom arose the kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties. "It is therefore necessary to begin the history of India or the Hindue race with the patriarchal (i. e. the Prajapatya) period and carry the account through the Deva period, dealing with the nature and position of Indra, Agni, Yama. noticing the relations though hostile, these and other Devas had with the Asuras and Danavas and then describe the rule of the puranic dynasties till we finally reach the period of the Mauryas".

This is a very clever reconstruction of the early history of India based upon literature. The author has opened up a new and fruitful line of investigation.

G. S. Dikshit

FURTHER SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY.

Edited by Mr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastry and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. 3 Vols. University of Madras.

The University of Madras published in 1919 'Sources of Vijayanagara History.' The present work is its sequel. The first volume contains an elaborate introduction by Dr. Venkataramanayya, pointing out how the new sources have added to our knowledge of Vijayanagara History. The second Volume contains the texts of the new sources which are about 300 and are to be found in Sanskrit, Persian and the Dravidian languages. The third Volume contains translations of a large number of texts and summaries of the remaining. The extracts are from 3 sources, general literature, chronicles, and Mackenzie Manuscripts. The Vijayanagara rulers encouraged literature in Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu. Many of these works contain prologues giving the history of the patron's family. Srinatha, Peddana, Timmana and Ramarajabhushana are some of the authors who wrote works belonging to this class. To the class of chronicles belong Vidyanarya Kalajnana, Kamparayacharita and Saluvabhyudaya.

The Mackenzie manuscripts stand in a class by themselves. They are records maintained by generations of village officers. Such records are to be found only in the Telugu country. But for the enterprise of Col. Colin Mackenzie who recognised their value and collected them, we would have been deprived of a unique source of mediaeval history. While the chronicles and literary works, mentioned earlier, have been in many cases independently published and are available to students anywhere, the Mackenzie Manuscripts can be studied only in Madras. Herein lies the great value of the present publication, which contains extracts from these manuscripts.

The extracts throw a flood of light on many dark corners of Vijayanagara History. Saluva Narasimha the founder of the second dynasty was a great warrior. But how exactly he was able to hold his own against the Bahamani kingdom is for the first time made clear to us by extract No. 104. He transformed peace-

loving farmers into a nation of warriors. This source says "The successive defeats at the hands of the Pathans in spite of many (of the Hindus) having fought and died made the Raya discover the need for a cavalry here. As trainers and troopers he enlisted on handsome salary candidates from anywhere irrespective of caste or creed. If any quarrels arose among the warriors, they had to settle them by fighting with swords. Thus a warlike spirit was infused into all. Fear of death was held in contempt and women would drink poison and die to save their honour."

Much misconception exists about the next important ruler Narasa Nayaka the founder of the third dynasty. Many of the achievements of Narasa Nayaka are mentioned in inscriptions. But whether they were real or not it was not known. With the help of the new material Dr. Venkatramanayya has established the truth of the statements in inscriptions.

The editor of the 'Sources of Vijayanagara History' Dr. S. K. Iyengar, was not inclined to believe in Peddana's statement that Krishnadeva Raya went as far as Cuttack in his campaign against Gajapati ruler. He characterised this statement of Peddana to be as close to facts "as poetry can be to history." But it is held here on the strength of Nuniz and an inscription that Krishnadeva Raya's army went to Cuttack. About Rama Raya we are told how defeat in Rakshasa-Tangadi was not a surprise, but was the inevitable conclusion of the wrong policy of the last great Vijayanagara ruler. Ramaraya dismissed all tried officers and appointed new and naturally inexperienced persons. He entertained as many foreign Musalman mercenaries and adventurers in his service as he could get and offered them facilities which enabled them to acquire an intimate knowledge of the internal affairs of the kingdom.

There are a few Kannada sources in this work ; but there are many more which deserve to be published. May we hope that the University of Mysore will follow the excellent example set by the University of Madras ?

G. S. Dikshit

A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE, Vol. VI.
The Vakataka-Gupta Age. Edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar
and Dr. A. S. Altekar. Motilal Banarsi Dass Lahore, 1946.

A New History of the Indian People, of which the present work forms the sixth Volume, though it is the first to be published, has been planned by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. The sixth Volume covers the period from 200 A. D. to 550 A. D. A noteworthy feature of this work is, that it gives equal importance to political and cultural history and the spread of Indian culture abroad. The political history of the period begins in 200 A. D. when the Kushans and the Kshatrapas were the leading political powers. Very soon, however, new powers like the Maghas, Nagas and Yaudheyas came into prominence and brought about the downfall of the Kushans. In the same way first, the Vakatakas and later the Guptas, became responsible for the decline and fall of the Kshatrapas. The Guptas dominated the greater part of India for about a century from 350 A. D. to 450 A. D. Their decline, and the decline of the Vakatakas, followed soon after and the gap caused by their disappearance, was filled by a number of minor powers like the later Guptas, the Maukharis and the Hunas in the north and the Kadambas and Kalachuris in the Deccan.

Thus there was no political unity in the period; but this lack was more than made up by cultural unity. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, whatever the dynasty which was ruling, we find the same religions, the same castes and even the same type of administrative machinery. The greatest bond of unity, however, was language. Sanskrit was not only the official language, it was also the medium of expression for poets, philosophers and scientists, and still further, it was the link between the various Indian Colonies in different parts of Asia with their mother country. The culture which was thus uniform throughout the country was of a very high order. An age which saw the production of Śākuntala and Mṛcchakaṭika, the discovery of the decimal system, and the rotation of the earth round its axis, the paintings of Ajanta and the sculptures of Ellora, has rightly been called the Golden Age of Indian History.

Thus the work deals with one of the most glorious epochs in the early history of India and it deals with it in a highly satisfactory manner. The authors who are chosen for writing the different chapters are experts in those branches of study and the result is a standard work, which will hold the field for many years to come.

As an example of the cautious and sober attitude of the authors, the following view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar on the episode of Ramagupta may be quoted; "while the story cannot be dismissed off-hand as a figment of imagination, we must not rush to the other extreme of accepting in toto, plots of drama and popular tales as reliable facts. In other words we must suspend our judgement upon the historical character of Rama Gupta." This view has been completely justified by the recent discovery of a huge hoard of gupta gold coins at Biyana in the Bharatpur State. In this collection, while all the Gupta kings are represented, there is not single coin of Rama Gupta, thus casting strong doubt on the historicity of that king.

There is a lack of proportion in the space allotted to the different dynasties. The unimportant dynasties of the later Kushans and the later Śakas get more space than the more important Kadambas and Pallavas. A map, bibliography, index and illustrations enhance the value of the work. G. S. Dikshit.

THREE DRAMAS OF BHĀSA (MAHĀKAVI BHĀSA KE TĪNA NĀTAKA) by Prof. S. R. Sehgal. Crown 8, pp. 80. Published by Sehgal Publishing House, Delhi. 1949. Price -/14/-

This is a Hindi translation of the (i) *Madhyama Vyāyoga*, (ii) *Dūta-vākya*, and (iii) *Ūru-bhaṅga*,—three of the one-Act plays based on the Mahābhārata by Bhāsa. The translation is fairly accurate, and will give readers an idea of the plays, and in a way help in introducing Bhāsa to the Hindi-knowing public. The translator has not, at places, inserted the stage-directions as in the original, and in a few instances, the translation is not quite correct.

The short introduction deals with the popularity and history of the Great Epic and gives a brief account of Bhāsa. One fails to understand the propriety of the type of illustrations that are included in the text, which should better have been omitted. We hope the author will publish his translation of the remaining plays of Bhāsa at no distant date. A. D. Pusalker.

ARYAVIDHANAM Vol I and II

Aryavidhanam is a work by Mahamahopadhyaya Vishvanath Reu which incorporates principles of Modern Hindu Law and is composed in Sanskrit verses. It has 4150 verses which are written in easy Sanskrit style. It has also got a lucid Hindi Commentary. The popular conception that the prevailing Hindu Law is based on old Smritis and Nibandhas is not entirely correct as it would be found that to a great extent the modern Hindu Law is based on customs, judicial decisions of the various High Courts and the Privy Council and also on the various Acts of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. All of these modern sources of Hindu Law have greatly modified the original system of Hindu Law as enunciated in the Smritis.

These modern Sources of Hindu Law are all in English and so old type Sanskrit Pandits conversant only with Sanskrit Sources of Hindu Law are not familiar with the new and changed aspects of Hindu Law. The work under review therefore would go a long way towards satisfying this great need of purely Sanskrit Pandits. Pandit Vishvanath Reu has by writing this book greatly obliged that great class of Sanskrit Pandits who do not know English as also persons who know only Hindi. The author has dealt with all the aspects of current Hindu Law including laws applicable to Jains also.

In a separate chapter the author has also dealt with the bills which are under consideration.

The style and the treatment of the subject are lucid. The book may be safely recommended as a text book for Dharmaśāstra in various Pāṭhaśālās and Sanskrit Colleges.

The author must be congratulated as he has laid the Sanskrit and Hindi knowing class under deep obligation by providing an upto-date book on Hindu Law in clear Sanskrit verse with a Hindi commentary.

Raghunath Shastri Kokaję.

1 SPHOTA VĀDA OF NAGESĀBHATṬA Edited, by V.

Krishnamacharya with his own commentary Subodhini

The Adyar Library 1946, Price Rs. 3/12.

The doctrine of the Eternity of the Word is very very old, having its roots in the well-known R̥gvedic hymns to the Goddess of speech. The theory of Sphoṭa, traditionally believed to be promulgated by Sphoṭāyana R̥ṣi, as developed by grammarians like Bhartṛhari, elevates Sanskrit grammar from a Science of Linguistics, or an Art of correct speaking to a Philosophy with its own metaphysics. The transient phenomenon of the spoken word is but revelatory of the eternal Noumenon — Śabda-Brahman from which comes the whole creation of the world in the form of all manifested objects. The eternal Sphoṭa passes through four transitional stages — Parā, Paśyanti, Madhyamā and Vaikhari — before it becomes manifest as Bāhya (external) sphoṭa through utterance by the vocal organs — and it is through this nexus of Vaikhari sound with the eternal Sphoṭa, that we can bring ourselves in tune with the Infinite — the Śabda-Brahman — if we practice the necessary discipline.

In his elaborate exordium in Sanskrit to this very erudite work — the learned editor gives a very lucid account of the views held in respect of Word, and its power to convey a meaning giving the Mīmāṃsā view that the audible word is eternal and all-pervasive and its connection with meaning is an eternal one (औपनिषत्सु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धः) — and then the views of Nyāya, Vedānta, Sāṃkhya and Yoga, and finally the Vaiyākaraṇa view as set forth in detail in this work.

The learned editor deserves the grateful acknowledgments of all orientalists and of philologists in particular, for the clear elucidation of the text in his commentary — Subodhini.

C. R. Devadhar.

2 JIVĀNANDAM OF ĀNANDARĀYA MAKHIN, edited
by Pandit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar, with his own
commentary 'Nandini' The Adyar Library, Adyar
Madras 1947

This medico-literary drama is a great curio of literature which Sanskrit alone is capable of producing, and allegorically depicts the ways and methods for the untroubled and happy career of the Individual soul both during the period of its sojourn in the mortal, material frame and after its separation from it in a disembodied existence. It belongs to the same genere as the Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇamīśra and the Saṁkalpa-Sūryodaya of Vedānta Deśika which allegorically dramatise the struggle of this Jīva in this phenomenal world and its final liberation or mukti through Viṣṇubhakti. These plays are held in high esteem by scholars, as they expound in an interesting manner the truths of Vedānta. Ānandarāya Makhin, who was deeply versed in Āyurveda, made the novel departure of representing the achievement of everlasting bliss by the Jīva through the agency of Medical Science and Advaita philosophy.

The text of the drama was edited as early as 1891 by Pandit Durga Prasad and Kāśināth Pandurang Parab for the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press and a second edition of the same play was brought out in the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Series in 1933. The text of these editions is so corrupt, so full of mistakes, that a revised edition like the present one was a desideratum. The formidable terminology and the abstruse ideas of Medical Science also required elucidation to enable one to appreciate the merits of the work, and we must confess that in the absence of a commentary — lucid, clear and concise like the one written by the editor — we would not have been helped to a proper appreciation of this remarkable work.

C. R. Devadhar.

3 INDIA IN KĀLIDĀSA, By Bhagwat Saran Upadhyaya. Kitabistan, Allahabad.

This work embodies the labour of over a decade and gives a picture of the world as the poet saw it and revealed it to us in the seven poems and dramas that have come down as his compositions. In a comprehensive scheme of seven books, the poet's observations on such topics as Geography, Politics, Social life, Fine Arts, Economic life, Education and learning, and Religion and Philosophy, have been methodically recorded to the smallest minutae, and thus the book is a veritable mine of information about the great poet's works. As a monument of laborious and patient industry, it will easily bear the palm. It is, however, heart-rending to find that the foot-notes which make one half or more of every page, merely give references to act and verse, or to canto and verse, when whole quotations could have been easily printed within the same space. For, except for a person who is thoroughly familiar with the poet and knows him by heart, a mere reference like *Raghu IV. 25* or *Ibid V. 49* makes very little meaning. The utility of the work as an encyclopaedia of Kālidāsa would have increased a thousandfold, if the text of the poet's works had been presented analytically in the form of these footnotes, which would not have increased the bulk of the volume.

As the author himself admits, most of what Kālidāsa portrays is traditional and conventional; howfar, therefore, would it represent a picture of the times in which the poet lived and wrote as also of the beliefs and ideals of his age, is very doubtful. An attempt has, however, been made to distinguish the traditional from the historical. The vexed question of the date of Kālidāsa is again discussed in an appendix and the author complacently feels that he has finally fixed the date of the poet, who must have been a contemporary of the Guptas.

C. R. Devadhar.

4 A HAND-BOOK OF CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By U. Venkata Krishna Rao, M.A., Vedam Venkataraya Sastry and Bros., Madras, Rs. 2

This is a brief survey of Classical Sanskrit literature comprising all its branches — epic, narrative, drama, prose romances, *campūs*, lyric and gnomic verse, fables and rhetoric, and bears the obvious impress of a work that is rushed through the press, judging from the numerous typographical errors and also from the more serious misstatements, wrong references and none too happy expressions. A few instances will suffice. At page 145 we read “the wily Vidushaka must have seen through the Parivrajika’s soft corner for Malavika as well” — this is certainly not good English — if it is English at all. What is meant by the following:— (P. 143) “ With infinite dramatic irony and unmatched tragic setting, Bhāsa’s achievement is simply superb ”? Here are mistakes of reference: (P. 129) काष्ठादग्निर्जयते मध्यमानात् — is not in the Svapna I. 18 but is in Pratijñā ; नवं शरावं सलिलस्य पूर्णं (P. 131) is not in प्रतिमा of Bhāsa — but in the प्रतिज्ञायौ IV. 2. P. 140. Here is a specimen of careless English. “ Vāsavadattā is entrusted to the care of Padmāvatī — marriage with whom *has predicted* the restoration of Udayana’s lost territories ”. At page 167 the writer states “ In both there is belief in the Science of predictions, that the husband of a particular princess shall be an emperor, which is made the very starting point as in *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Bhāsa’s Svapna and the *Ratnāvalī* ”. Surely we have yet to discover that in Kālidāsa’s *Mālavikāgnimitra* !

It is needless to multiply instances. It is true the writer has ventured upon a very difficult task, and it is no slight achievement to have compressed within 175 pages or so a history and an account of the manifold branches of Sanskrit Literature. He has also boldly defended the traditional view regarding the date of Kālidāsa, and supplied the necessary corrective for the modern Orientalist’s tendency to regard whatever is good and native to our soil as being derived from Greek and other foreign influences. A little more care, and a thorough revision would have helped a good deal to remove the defects of the English language and expression and to eliminate the wrong references and misstatements, such as those we have shown.

C. R. Devadhar

ŚRĪMAD BHAGAVADGĪTĀ with Sarvatobhadṛā, edited
by T. R. Chintamani : Madras University Sanskrit Series,
No. 14.

This edition of the Gītā text with the commentary of the Kasmirian author Rājānaka Rāmakaṇṭha, was published in 1941. It is, therefore, rather late that this review appears here; yet with the passing of time, some points in this edition have been made clear, which is an advantage for the student.

To begin with, Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, in his Foreward, refers to the present writer's edition of this same commentary 'Sarvatobhadṛā' published in the Anandāśrama Series. In this connection, the fact has to be stated that both these editions were brought out—at least were much advanced in printing—before one knew of the existence of the other. The present writer began his work, immediately after the appearance of Dr. Schrader's 'Kasmiri Recension' in 1930, and the edition of the commentary, based on the very four Mss., at the Bhandarkar Institute Library, which subsequently were taken up by Dr. Chintamani, was ready in manuscript form by, say, 1932. But the Ms. lay idle, for want of a publisher, and the 'attempt' made by Mr. Tadpatrikar and referred to by Dr. Chintamani, at the beginning of his Introduction, was only a compromise arising out of the insufficiency of the funds promised by the patron, for bringing out a complete edition with this commentary of Rājānaka Rāma. It was mainly through the kind offices of Dr. Belvalkar, at last, that the authorities of the Anandāśrama took up the work for publication, and only when this work had almost passed through the press, the present writer learnt of Dr. Chintamani's edition.

The writer then wrote to Dr. Chintamani, asking his opinion about a problem which had engaged the writer's mind, while working on the edition; the letter was never replied to, so that the writer felt alone in his own conclusions, and could not do any changes in the edition, as he had proposed to do. As this problem has still remained unsolved, at least from the view point

of the present writer, it would be better to present it here, for the consideration of scholars !

At the end of each Adhyāya, the commentator Rāma gives a śloka which summarises the main topic of the Adhyāya. Accordingly, when we come to the end of Adhy. 17, there is *no* such śloka forthcoming. Dr. Chintamani, in his footnote 8 at p. 464, clearly stated this fact: "This verse is read in *all* the mss. at the end of the next adhyāya;" then follows the editor's own comment on this: "but its proper place is here (i. e. at the end of Adhy. 17) and not at the end of the 18th Adhy."

Let us now see whether this comment is correct, and if so, what the verse itself says, about this; and the very first line runs :

अध्यायश्च नगेन्दुकः कविवरस्यास्मिन्प्रयोगे नवे

the reading अस्मिन् is found in the Ind. office Ms. alone, while all other Mss. have अयं. Any way, the meaning of this line seems to be quite clear, and should, in the opinion of the present writer, help to read the problem on right lines. What this line states, is this: "This (अयं) is the seventeenth (नगेन्दुकः) Adhyāya in the new arrangement (नवे प्रयोगे) made by the poet". Even the reading अस्मिन् does not make any serious change in the above. So the clear conclusion one would arrive at is that the कविवर (suggested, or even) made a new arrangement of Adhyāyas, where he combined the last two Adhyāyas, so that the 17th becomes the last Adhy. and the verse, too, is rightly given by *all* the mss. at the end of the 18th Adhy.

The commentator has, otherwise, observed strict silence about this नव प्रयोग; he should have discussed his own standpoint, and given his own reasons, for the new arrangement. But, somehow, there is nothing else to guide us, and hence the doubtful situation about this problem. At any rate, the whole Mss. evidence, so far, gives the position of this verse at the end of the 18th Adhy., at p. 523, where, again, Dr. Chintamani puts out a suggestion: "Perhaps a verse referring to Adhy. 18 is missing."

As stated by Dr. Kunhan Raja in his foreward, this edition "is not a mere duplication", of the present writer's humble work

in the *Ānandāśrama* Series. And the Introduction by the learned Dr. Chintamani, would give ample proof, of this statement. Here are, however, some points which deserve notice.

At p. XXXVIII appears the name of the Kasmirian commentator *Ānandavardhana*, who is, at p. XL taken to be an older contemporary of *Rāma*, assigned to the closing period of the 9th century A. D. Dr. Belvalkar, who has recently edited the commentary of this *Ānandavardhana*, however, on the authority of the same author's own statement, gives the date as A. D. 1680!

At pp. XXXII f. Dr. Belvalkar's attempt at computation of the Bh. Gītā text, according to the 745 text—standard, is taken up for criticism. A reply to this, would be duly found at p. 23 ff. of the Introduction to Dr. Belvalkar's edition of *Ānandavardhana's* commentary, referred to, above.

Some extracts from *Bhāskara's* com., a fragment of which was in Dr. Chintamani's possession, and their comparison with statements of *Ācārya Śaṅkara*, are important to the student, as this *Bhāskara* is still, not so easily accessible.

A detailed comparative statement of the readings of *Rāma-kaṇṭha*, *Abhinavagupta* and *Bhāskara* and the vulgate text of the Gītā, covering pp. XLIII-LXXX, as also the two Indexes at the end of the edition, add to the usefulness of the work, as a whole.

S. N. Tadpatrikar.

NUMISMATIC PARALLELS OF KĀLIDĀSA—

By C. Sivaramamurti, M. A. Published by Shakti
Kāryālaya, Madras. 1945. Pp. Cr. xvi + 40. Price Rs. 2.

This little book completes the trilogy which the author had planned in his studies of Kālidāsa, sculpturally, epigraphically, and numismatically. Kālidāsa is at once the promise and fulfilment, the summation and inspiration, the culmination and fountain head in the culture of ancient India. Aurobindo Ghosh, the greatest living philosopher of India, aptly sums up: 'Vālmiki, Vyāsa and Kālidāsa are the essence of the history of ancient India.' This inspired bard of the Divine Muse has ever wielded great influence on the life and literature of India. So far the Sanskrit world was conscious of the literary influences of Kālidāsa. But here is a scholar of literary aptitude and scientific attainments. He discovers for us a new realm of great promise in Kālidāsan studies. With deep insight and wide scholarship he makes a very laudable attempt to *unravel* Kālidāsan influences on the coinage in ancient India. He has provided examples to the reader of pictorial and poetic features of various coins in ancient India, which, in his opinion have been inspired by the poet's stanzas. The value of the work is enhanced by the accurate illustrations provided by the author. Similarities are traced between the figures and legends on the ancient coins and the descriptions of Kālidāsa. The coins range in place from Nepal to Tanjore and from the 2nd century B. C. to the 15th century A. D. This naturally raises the important question of the date of Kālidāsa; and such studies are expected to contribute to the solution of that much-debated question. The illustrated coins mostly come from the Śātavāhana and the Gupta periods; and if any conclusion is to be hazarded from this, it patently substantiates the traditional theory of the age of Kālidāsa. The study also reveals that Kālidāsa himself was greatly influenced by his own age.

These studies reveal that Śrī Sivaramamurti is a gifted Sanskritist who can expound clearly and sweetly a theme of this kind. We hope that the publication of these triple studies will evoke a new vista of scholarship and enquiry, so fruitful in its consequences on the ancient Indian history and on the present age of dead routine and uniformity.

R. N. Gaidhani,

THE TWENTY-FIRST INTERNATIONAL
CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, PARIS

23rd to 31st of July 1948

BY

R. N. DANDEKAR

At the twentieth session of the International Congress of Orientalists held at Brussels (Belgium), in 1938, it was resolved that the next session, that is, the twenty-first session of the Congress should be held at Paris some time in 1941. Accordingly the Asiatic Society of Paris, which had undertaken to organise the Paris session, got busy soon after the Brussels session was over. But the second world-war seriously interfered with their plans, and, the international situation so developed that it was once feared that the Paris session could never be held at all. It must indeed be said to the credit of the Orientalists of France that, not long after the termination of the war, and even when the national life in France had still not returned to normal, they revived their plans to hold the twenty-first session at Paris and issued the first circular in that connection by the middle of 1947. Provisionally they fixed July 1948 as the month in which the Paris session might be held. A strong executive committee was formed with Professor Bacot, the President of the Asiatic Society, as the President, Professors Damiéville, Lacau, Massé, Massignon, Renou, and Virolleaud as Vice-Presidents, Professor Grousset as General Secretary, and Doctors Basset, Filliozat, and Labât as Secretaries. Subsequent bulletins were issued by this committee, in due course, and it was finally announced that the twenty-first session of the International Congress of Orientalists would be held at Paris from the 23rd to the 31st of July 1948.

The dates for the session were so fixed that the delegates to the Oriental Congress should also be enabled to attend some meetings of the International Congress of Linguisticians, which was being held at Paris in the third week of July. Invitations for the Congress were received by individual scholars and learned bodies in India, as well as by Government of India and provincial Governments. In my capacity as the General Secretary of the All India Oriental Conference, I wrote to the Central and some of the Provincial Governments impressing upon them the necessity and desirability of sending influential official delegations to the Paris session. I pleaded that sending such delegations this time would be just the right thing, particularly in view of our newly achieved independence. I further suggested to the Central Government, through the President of the All India Oriental Conference, that they should officially invite the Congress to hold its next Session in India. The All India Oriental Conference, as the officially recognised central body of Orientalists in this country, resolved to send their official delegate to the Paris session and duly elected me to represent them. I also had the honour to be appointed the delegate of the Government of Bombay and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The Government of India appointed a delegation with Professor Radhakrishnan, Spalding Professor of Comparative Religions at the Oxford University, as Leader, and MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, and Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Professor of Comparative Philology and Phonetics at the Calcutta University, as Members. Professor Radhakrishnan was to arrive at Paris for the session directly from Oxford; Professor Chatterji left India in the second week of July as he was deputed to attend also the Congress of Linguisticians; and Dr. Kane and myself left Bombay by air on Sunday, the 18th of July, and reached Paris soon after midnight on Monday, the 19th of July. It was indeed a happy thought for all of us that Government of India had authorised their delegates to invite the Congress, on their behalf, to hold its next session in India.

The International Congress of Orientalists is an old organisation. Its first session was held at Paris in 1873. The following

table will show the venues and years of subsequent sessions of the Congress :

2 London, 1874.	12 Rome, 1899.
3 St. Petersburg. 1876.	13 Hamburg, 1902.
4 Florence, 1878.	14 Algiers, 1905.
5 Berlin, 1881.	15 Copenhagen, 1908.
6 Leiden, 1883.	16 Athens, 1912.
7 Vienna, 1886.	17 Oxford, 1928.
8 Stockholm and Christiana, 1889.	18 Leiden, 1931.
9 London, 1892.	19 Rome, 1934.
10 Geneva, 1894.	20 Brussels, 1938.
11 Paris, 1897.	21 Paris, 1948.

[It will be seen that, since its foundation in 1873, the sessions of the Congress have been normally held at an interval of three years each. There were two long breaks - one (after the 16th session) caused by the first world-war, and the second (after the twentieth session) caused by the second world-war. It will be further seen that most of the sessions of the International Congress have been held in Europe; only one, namely, the 14th, was held in the French Colony, Algiers (North Africa)].

Though the first session of the Congress of Orientalists was held in 1873, this fact cannot by any means be taken to indicate that Oriental studies in Europe began in that year. If we take into account, by way of an example, only one branch of Oriental studies, namely, Indology, we shall find that Indic studies began in the West nearly a century before the International Congress was inaugurated. Several histories of Indic studies in Europe are available. In 1905, for instance, Oldenberg presented, through his *Vedaforschung*, an authoritative survey of Vedic research, in all its aspects, made by Western scholars beginning from Roth. A more comprehensive work of this nature is *Geschichte der Sanskrit Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* by Windisch, published between 1917 and 1920. In this connection, it is necessary to mention also *Les Maitres de la Philologie Védique* (1928) and

Bibliographie Védique (1930) by Renou, *Indisch* (1929) by Wüst, *L'Indo-Aryen* (1934) by Bloch, and *Progress of Indic Studies* (1943) edited by Dandekar. From these and similar other histories and surveys it will be seen that the beginning of Indic studies in the West more or less synchronises with the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. In 1785, was published the English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* by Wilkins, and 1789 saw the publication of the English translation of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* by William Jones. These two translations may be said to have formally introduced Sanskrit language, life, and thought to Western scholars for the first time. Even, a few years before this, Voltaire had praised, in his writings (1785), the ancient wisdom of the Brāhmaṇas with which he had become familiar through the notorious *Ezour-Vedam*, the literary forgery perpetrated by a Jesuit missionary in the 17th century. In about the same year, Herder had referred to the Veda, the mysterious knowledge of the Indians, for the real understanding of which, he added, 'we shall probably have long to wait'. Happily Herder's prophecy was soon falsified thanks to the growing interest which Western scholars began to take in ancient Indian languages and culture. To speak only of the Vedic Studies, already in 1805, Colebrooke had initiated a more or less scientific approach to Vedic philology. In 1825, Rosen's Latin translation of a few selections from the *R̥gveda* was published. In 1846, Roth published a series of three monographs comprising a history of Vedic literature. Two years later (1848), the *Sāmaveda-Saṃhitā*, edited by Benfey, was published in Germany. The very next year, Max Müller published the first volume of his Oxford edition of the *R̥gveda* and completed the entire work in 1875. In 1852, was published Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, which must indeed be regarded as an amazing achievement in that early period. Thereafter, several works of fundamental value for Indology were published in quick succession — the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* (Śaunaka) by Roth and Whitney (1856), the *History of Sanskrit Literature* by Max Müller (1859), the *R̥gveda-Saṃhitā* by Aufrecht (1862), the *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* by Weber (1871-72), and the *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* (Paippalāda) by Roth (1875). My point in referring to

all this work is to show that, already before 1873, much ground in the field of Indological research was covered by scholars in different countries of Europe. It was therefore but natural that, round about 1873, these Oriental Scholars should have thought of organising themselves into an International Congress. The main purpose of this new organisation, the International Congress of Orientalists, was to afford facilities to Orientalists from all parts of the world to come together periodically so that they may collectively 'contribute to the growing knowledge of things Oriental' and, 'enjoy personal converse with fellow-workers in their several branches of Orientalism'. The sessions of the International Congress were expected to give the Orientalists of the world an opportunity to take, at fixed intervals, a survey of the work done in the field of Oriental studies at different centres of learning and research. Such surveys helped them to realise where they stood and what still remained to be accomplished. Scholars, gathering from different parts of the world, spoke to their colleagues on the special subjects of their recent investigations. This had a great practical advantage in that it helped to avoid considerable duplication of work. It was further realised that personal communication, helped, in most cases, to solve the difficulties and resolve the doubts of individual scholars much more easily than correspondence. Moreover, at these sessions, scholars coming from different centres could plan and arrange to execute huge literary and research schemes, such as dictionaries, bibliographies, archaeological excavations etc., which required collaboration and joint effort. Apart from these advantages of a more or less limited academic character, the International Congress certainly served a higher purpose from the point of view of humanity at large. The words uttered by a distinguished scholar at one of the sessions are indeed significant. "We of the twentieth century come together," he said, "not so much that we may read and listen to learned papers, as that we may see each other face to face and recognise that we are fellow-workers at the noble task of helping the East and the West to understand each other and so to respect each other, and so to live in peace and goodwill together. This I take to be the real purpose, the first purpose of this international gathering".

The proceedings of the earlier sessions show that several Indian scholars - either as delegates of Central and Provincial Governments and of learned bodies or in their individual capacity - had attended these sessions and actively participated in their deliberations. A special mention may be made, in this connection, of Bhandarkar and Sukthankar, whose excellent work was particularly appreciated at the sessions of the International Congress. It may also be added that many important resolutions relating to Indic studies, such as the ones about the *Linguistic Survey of India*, and the Critical Edition of India's National Epic, *Mahābhārata*, have been passed by the International Congress.

The twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in July 1948 was organised by the Asiatic Society of France. Four different bodies were set up for this purpose - a Committee of Patrons consisting of high personages like the President of the Republic of France, the Foreign Minister, the Education Minister, the Mayor of Paris, and the Rector of the Paris University; a Committee of Honour consisting mainly of Directors of academic bodies; a Council of Organization; and an Executive Committee, which has already been referred to elsewhere. In addition to these four committees, the Congress itself elected, at its inaugural session, a Consultative Committee comprising about 15 scholars representing different countries. Incidentally it may be mentioned that, though Professor Radhakrishnan was formally elected to this Committee, Dr. Kane, Professor Chatterji, and myself were also permitted to participate in its deliberations.

The twenty-first session commenced on Friday, the 23rd July, and terminated on Saturday, the 31st July. Before the formal inauguration of the Congress, an informal reunion of the Congressists was held on the morning of the 23rd. This informal meeting gave scholars coming from different countries an opportunity to renew old contacts and develop new ones. It was at this reunion that scholars fixed up among themselves appointments for further personal discussions etc. on subjects and problems of mutual interest. Such informal receptions serve a

very useful purpose indeed, and the All India Oriental Conference may introduce, with advantage, this new feature in its sessions. Another thing which struck me as very beneficial was the period of nearly ten days over which the work of the International Congress was spread. Our experience at the All India Oriental Conference is that we have to rush through a very crowded programme within about three days. This leaves hardly any time for any really fruitful personal contacts. Some improvement in this direction is, in my opinion, desirable. About four hundred delegates attended the Paris session of the International Congress. Most countries in Europe, with the conspicuous exception of the Soviet Union and Germany, and all countries of the East, except Japan, were officially represented at the session. Delegates had also come from the U. S. A. and some other countries in the American continents. The absence of Orientalists from Germany, which may justifiably claim to have been the real home of Orientalism in Europe, and which had been steadily enriching, even until recent times, her old and distinguished traditions in this field of learning, was strongly felt by most of the delegates present. It was felt that political considerations, however vital to some, should not have prevented the German *savants* from attending this gathering of learned researchers. Having had the advantage of being educated at a German University, and also having had the privilege of making personal acquaintance with several German Orientalists of today, I was personally much disappointed at this unfortunate lacuna in the Paris gathering. Most of the sittings of the Congress and its several sections were held in the spacious and well-appointed halls of the Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 27, rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris. French and English, and, in some cases, German, were the languages officially recognised at the Congress. Whenever delegates so desired, arrangements were made to give summaries, in English, of speeches made in French or German.

The inaugural session of the Congress commenced at 4 p. m. on the 23rd July, in the Boutmy Amphitheatre of the Academy of Political Science, Professor Bacot presiding. The proceedings opened with a report on the twentieth session of the Congress held at Brussels, in 1938, submitted by its General Secretary.

The President, Professor Bacot, is a distinguished Orientalist of long standing and has made remarkable contributions to Tibetan studies. His dictionary of the Tibetan language is now regarded as an authoritative piece of work. Bacot is at present the President of the Asiatic Society of Paris. In his presidential address, he expressed, on behalf of the French Orientalists, his genuine pleasure at the privilege they had of welcoming their colleagues from far and near at the International Congress, which was being held after a sad and unfortunate interval of over a decade. He stressed the importance of Orientalism from the point of view of humanities in general, and expressed the hope that Orientalists would not fail to do their little bit in properly reshaping the mind of the world. After Bacot's presidential address, delegates from different countries conveyed their fraternal greetings to the twenty-first International Congress. Professor Radhakrishnan spoke, in his usual inimitable way, on behalf of India. Eloquently quoting from the renowned French author, Anatole France, he showed how, in his troubled times, the latter received inspiration from the teachings of Gautama, the Buddha. Radhakrishnan urged upon the necessity of the Buddha's ideals of *prajñā* or comprehension and *karuṇā* or compassion-knowledge and well-doing-for a project of readjustment of human relations all over the world. Mere economic and political planning, divorced from a consideration of the fundamentals in life, he added, is, as we are experiencing from day to day, bound to fail. Radhakrishnan then dilated upon *mṛdutā* or gentleness, the weapon used by Gandhiji, in this twentieth century, with utmost success—a weapon, which he characterised, quoting from the *Mahābhārata*, as the sharpest of all weapons. Radhakrishnan concluded by saying that the message of *prajñā* and *karuṇā*, given, centuries ago, by the Buddha, is also the message to be conveyed today by Indology to the Orientalists of the world. The greetings from the delegates were followed by the election of the consultative committee and the announcement of the special problems for discussion at the Congress. The General Assembly was then adjourned to resume its work, through different sections, from the next morning.

. The work of the Congress, as a whole, may be divided into three main items, namely, (i) receptions and social gatherings ; (ii) special meetings and visits to museums, exhibitions, and learned societies; and (iii) sectional meetings. The last-mentioned was, of course, the most important. I shall, however, consider these items in the order given above. On Saturday, the 24th July, the second day of the Congress, delegates to the Congresses of Linguists and of Orientalists were entertained at a reception in the Hotel de Ville by the Mayor of Paris, who, it may be incidentally mentioned, is a brother of General de Gaulle. Sir Raghavan Pillai, the Indian Charge d' Affairs at Paris, gave a party on the 26th July. We, the delegates from India, got an opportunity, on that occasion, to meet several Indians now resident at Paris. On the 28th July, a reception was held in the Cernuschi Museum. Professor Grousset, who was the General Secretary of the Congress, is the Curator of this Museum. Grousset has done very valuable work in the field of Tibetan, Chinese, and Greater Indian studies. The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs entertained the delegates at a reception held on the 29th July. (A reference may be made to a very interesting point in connection with this reception. It relates to the proverbially unsteady character of French cabinets. When the invitations for the reception were issued to the delegates on the first day of the Congress, our host was expected to be M. Bidault, who was then the Foreign Minister in M. Schumann's cabinet. During the next two days, however, a change of ministry took place. M. Andre Marie became the Premier, and M. Schumann became the Foreign Minister and thus our host on the day of the reception). On the next day, that is, the 30th July, Professor Louis Renou, the Director of the Institute of Indian Civilization in the Sorbonne, and his colleagues invited several scholars interested in Indological studies for an evening party at the Institute. Here Indologists from several countries got an opportunity for informally meeting their colleagues from other countries and for discussing with them matters of mutual interest. It must be emphasised that informal meetings of this sort must be regarded as an essential part of such learned Congresses, and must, therefore, be encouraged also in India. Many times it happens that more solid and substantial

results—both from the academic and the bigger international points of view—are achieved at these informal gatherings than at formal sectional meetings.

Turning to the second item, namely special meetings and visits to museums etc., I must first mention the visit to the Louvre. It is really impossible to exaggerate the remarkable character and the great value of this excellent collection of specimens of ancient, mediaeval, and modern art. The city of Paris has traditionally claimed that she has been, through ages, and still is the most important centre in the world for the study of art. Even a casual visit to the Louvre would convince anyone that this claim is not altogether unjustified. The Musée Guimet is, on the other hand, of greater academic interest for an Orientalist. It has a wonderful collection of archaeological finds from the East, such as Buddhist sculptures and monuments of ancient art from the French and other European colonies in South-East Asia—that is, from what is popularly, and, perhaps, more appropriately, known as Greater India. Particular mention must be made, in this context, of the excellent work done in the field of Greater Indian studies by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. In the afternoon of the 25th July, a special general session of the Congress was held in the Musée Guimet to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of this great French Oriental Academy. Interesting lectures, illustrated by lantern slides, were delivered about the archaeological and other work of the EFEO by Grousset, Coedes, and Stern among others. A report was also submitted on the achievement of the French archaeological delegation in Afghanistan. From what I saw and heard on that occasion, I was persuaded to think that French Orientalists are now paying greater attention to investigations relating to Greater India than to those relating to India, and that they are now putting greater emphasis on archaeological evidence than on literary sources.

Since my last visit to France, some ten years ago, I have often thought that, broadly speaking, recent Indic studies in French show three main trends or traditions, associated with the names of the three great French *savants*, Sylvain Lévi, la Vallée Poussin,

and Foucher, and in the main dealing, respectively, with Sanskritic studies, Buddhistic studies, and Greater Indian studies. The majority of French scholars now seem to be turning more and more towards the last-named school. This must, of course, be taken to be just a casual observation and not any deliberate conclusion.

An exhibition depicting the various stages in the development of writing in Eastern countries was organised in the National Library of Paris on the 26th July. Considerable material, of great value, on the subject was collected and properly arranged. The cabinets of ancient and medieval coins, seals, etc. of the East and the West, which were also exhibited on that occasion, proved of great interest to the students of comparative numismatics. The Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris ranks amongst the biggest collections of printed books and manuscripts in the world. There are in the Bibliotheque many important manuscripts also on Sanskritic and Buddhist subjects. During my recent stay at Paris in connection with the Congress, I took the opportunity of visiting the Bibliotheque several times particularly with a view to examining the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts deposited there. The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute had commissioned me to secure, for the Institute, photo-copies of an important manuscript of the *Śāntiparvan* in Bengali characters, dated Śaka 1599. Thanks to the keen interest which Dr. Filliozat took in our work, arrangements could soon be made to take photos of the manuscript. Here I must not fail thankfully to acknowledge the courtesy which was uniformly shown me in this connection by the staff of the Bibliotheque. I must also say that I was greatly impressed by the amazing capacity for quick recovery on the part of the French nation. It will not be out of place here if I mention that almost immediately after the formal cessation of the second World War, the Bhandarkar Institute had applied to the Bibliotheque Nationale for photo-copies of a Śaradā manuscript of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, which was expected to prove of very great value for the critical edition of that parvan, and the Institute actually got these photo-copies without much delay. (These have since been utilised, with great advantage,

by the editor of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*). When one takes into account the fact that the entire national life of France was seriously disorganised during the years of war, this fraternal gesture, on the part of the *Bibliothèque*, which was also indicative of the rapid recovery of the French national life, deserves utmost praise. I noticed similar examples of quick recovery also in Holland. A remarkable exhibition relating to ancient Iranian life and culture was organised in the *Cernuschi Museum*, which we visited on the 28th July. This exhibition was greatly enriched through several acquisitions from the *Museum of Teharan*. In the afternoon of the 30th July, a special general meeting of the Congress was held to commemorate the one thousandth anniversary of *Al Beruni*. It is well-known that this famous Arabian scholar visited India and has written a marvellous account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, archaeology, astronomy, customs, laws, and astrology of India about 1030 A.D. (This is available in an annotated English translation made by *Dr. Sachau* and published in the *Trübner's Oriental Series*). Orientalists from many countries paid glowing tributes to the remarkable achievements of *Al Beruni*. Professor *Chatterji* made, on this occasion, a speech which was full of much new information. For instance, he drew the attention of scholars to a rare coin, which was issued by a Muslim ruler - *Mahmud of Ghazna* - and which bore a Sanskrit legend. *Chatterji* suggested, on the basis of much evidence, that the inspiration for this unique coin must have come from *Al Beruni*. It is hoped that Oriental Institutes in India also will soon come forward, and, show, in a fitting manner, their appreciation of the work of this great Arabian traveller, scholar, and historian.

The main work of the International Congress was conducted through ten different sections. The meetings of these sections were normally held for about 3 to 4 hours in the mornings throughout the week beginning from Saturday, the 24th July. These sections were :— (1) *Egyptology*; (2) *Semitic studies*; (3) *Assyriology*; (4) (a) *Iranian studies*, (b) *Turkology*; (5) *Indology*; (6) *Indo-Chinese and Indonesian (Greater Indian) studies*; (7) *Sinology*; (8) *Islam*: (a) *The Koran and juridical sciences*, (b) *Islam and other cultures*, (c) *Islamic social sciences*, (d) *Islamic*

archaeology ; (9) East and West ; (10) Ethnology. (It may be noted, in this connection, that the work of the All India Oriental Conference, which deals with all aspects of Indology, is divided into 13 main sections, such as, Vedic, Iranian, Dravidian, Islamic, Classical Sanskrit etc.). A detailed programme of papers to be read and discussed and of lectures to be delivered in each section was made available to delegates immediately on their arrival at Paris. They were thus enabled to decide, according to their interests, which sections to attend and when. I attended the entire proceedings of the Indology section and some sittings of the sections dealing with Assyriology, Iranology, Greater Indian Studies, East and West, and Ethnology. It is neither desirable nor possible to present here an exhaustive and critical report on the discussions in the various sections which I attended. What I shall be doing is to refer, in broad outlines, and in an objective manner, to some of the important work done in the Indology section only.

The official President of the Indology section was Professor Jules Bloch. Professor Bloch's excellent work in the field of Indo-European linguistics, particularly with reference to Indian languages, is quite well-known. His *La Langue Marathe* is an authoritative book on the origin and growth of the Marathi language. (A translation of this book in Marathi, prepared by Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, was published at Poona some years ago). Professor Bloch inaugurated the work of the Indology section with a welcome-speech on the morning of the 24th July. He had decided that, though he was the official President of the Section, a different President should be elected, on each day, from among the Indologists who had gathered there. This was indeed a graceful gesture! The Presidents so elected on successive days were: Lamotte (Belgium), Gonda (Holland), Turner (England), Radhakrishnan (India), Dumont (U. S. A.), Morgenstierne (Norway), and Ratnasuriya (Ceylon). Professor Lamotte belongs to the tradition of la Vallee Poussin and has done remarkable work in the field of Buddhistic studies. His critical studies on the *Bhagavadgītā*, published in 1929, are also well-known to students of Indian philosophy. Gonda is well-known for his

critical edition of the Javanese adaption of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, published in 1937. Two years earlier, he had published an edition of the Javanese version of the *Bhagavadgītā*. In this respect, Gonda may be said to be following the distinguished traditions of Juynboll and Kern. He has taken interest in Vedic studies also, and his contributions concerning the style, rhetoric, and magic of the *Atharvaveda* are undoubtedly quite original and illuminating. He has established a really good centre of Indology at the University of Utrecht. Turner is at present the Director of the London School of Oriental and African Studies. His monumental work about Nepalese, besides several other contributions, has earned for him a well-deserved place among distinguished linguisticians of today. Dumont is the Professor of Indic studies at Baltimore. He has made a special study of the Vedic ritual, in its many aspects, and his monographs on the *Āsvamedha* and the *Agnihotra* amply testify to his thorough study of the subject. He is at present busy at an annotated English translation of the *Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa*. On the day on which he presided, he was himself expected to present a paper to the section. At that time, therefore, Professor Renou of the Paris University took the chair. Renou is a renowned Sanskritist, and particularly his work in the field of Vedic philology and Sanskrit grammar has received unanimous approbation from competent scholars. Morgenstierne of the Oslo University is interested in regional linguistics and has done some remarkable work relating to the dialects round about the NWF province. Ratnasuria is the dean of the faculty of oriental studies at the Ceylon University, and is, at present, in charge of the Etymological Dictionary of Sinhalese. He has also worked as a Lecturer in Sinhalese at the London School of Oriental Studies for some years.

At the very first session of the Indology section, on the 24th July, after the formal speeches of Bloch and Lamotte, I was asked to initiate the proceedings of the section with a report on the recent progress in Indology in India. I presented a more or less exhaustive survey of the important work recently done in India, emphasising, in an objective manner, the main trends of

Indological studies in India, and the lines on which these studies are at present proceeding. Attention of Western Indologists was particularly drawn to the Comprehensive History of India, now planned and being executed through three different projects; the excellent work in lexicography and bibliography; critical editions of Sanskrit texts; the organisation of manuscript-collections and the consequent publication of a large number of hitherto unknown or unpublished Sanskrit texts; Chinese and Tibetan Buddhistic studies; preliminary work being done for an exhaustive history of Prakrit literature; archaeological excavations at Brahmagiri, Karad, Arikmedu, and Taxila; corpus of Indian numismatics; recent discovery of Bharatpur hoard of Gupta gold coins etc. etc. I was happy to learn, from several European and American colleagues, that they found my report very useful and enlightening—particularly so because, during the period of war and subsequent years, the academic contacts of their countries with India had almost come to an end, and consequently they were not sufficiently aware of the work being done in India in their respective spheres of interest. Arising out of the discussion which followed and in which several Indologists participated, I had an occasion to speak further about the work of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* undertaken by the Madras University; the work relating to *Abhidharma*; Greater Indian research; scientific study of Indian dialects, etc. A similar but much shorter report on the work done in Ceylon was presented by Dr. Hettiaratchi of the Ceylon University. Professor Chatterji presented two papers to the section. One of his papers related to the Arabic version of the *Mahābhārata*, prepared in 1026 A. D., by Abul Hasan. This version was brought to the notice of Orientalists by the French scholar, Reynaud, in 1845. Chatterji discussed, from the linguistic point of view, the Arabic forms of the names of the *Mahābhārata* heroes given in that Arabic version, and concluded that they must have been derived from some Prakrit modifications of the original names in Sanskrit. This led to another important conclusion, namely, that, in the early 11th century, there must have existed a Prakrit version of the *Mahābhārata*, on which Abul Hasan's Arabic version was based. Chatterji further pointed

out that, from the study of the Prakrit modifications of the Sanskrit original names, it would appear that that Prakrit belonged to the North-Western part of India. In the discussion that followed, I emphasised the importance of the Arabic version from the point of view of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, which is being published by the Bhandarkar Institute. No manuscripts or testimonia used for the Critical Edition belong to a date prior to 1000 A. D. The Arabic version would therefore serve as an important testimonium. And if, by a happy chance, the Prakrit version on which, according to Chatterji, the Arabic version is based, is discovered, it would indeed prove of inestimable value. Moreover, as Chatterji suggests that that Prakrit version must have belonged to North-Western India, its value would be still greater. For, in that case, it can be assumed that the Prakrit version itself was based on an original North-Western Sanskrit text—tradition—a text-tradition, which, according to our present estimate, was the shortest and, therefore, perhaps, the nearest to the original epic. In his second paper, Chatterji made an attempt to estimate the contribution of the Kirātas to Hindu history and culture. He suggested that the Kirātas, who are frequently mentioned in ancient Indian literature, were the Indō-Mongoloid people, who had settled in Nepal, Manipur, Ahom, Bodo etc. The present Hindu culture, according to Chatterji, is the result of four successive cultural layers—the Austric or Niśāda, the Dravidian, the Aryan, and the Indo-Mongoloid or Kirāta. Miss Vaudeville, who is an advanced research student at the Paris University, read a very interesting paper on the composition of the *Tulasī-Rāmāyaṇa*. Among other things, she analysed the rôles played by Śiva, Yājñavalkya, and Bhuṣaṇḍi in the narration of the *Rāma-Carita-Mānasa*, and evaluated Tulasī's debt, in the philosophical portions of his *Rāmāyaṇa*, to the *Yoga-Vāsistha* and the *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa*. Mr. Balbir, an Indian student working for his Doctorate at the Paris University, presented a critical account of a manuscript on Sanskrit dramaturgy in the Sarasvatī-Bhavana Library of Benares. He pointed out that this work on Nāṭyaśāstra, called the *Nāṭyālocana*, was somewhat unique in that, besides the normal discussions on the subject, it contained practical instructions to actors. Mm. Dr. Kane

made very suggestive comments on both these papers and indicated the lines on which further research in the subjects could be profitably pursued. The paper, by Mr. de Jong, on the Problem of the Absolute according to the Mādhyamikas, gave rise to considerable discussion about Buddhist Metaphysics. The speaker's analysis of the conceptions of *svabhāva* and *paramārtha*, according to Nāgārjuna, was followed by a lucid statement by Radhakrishnan regarding the nature of *śūnyatā*. *Śūnyatā* or the so-called void of Buddhist schools, Radhakrishnan explained, is something positive. He observed that metaphysical views were self-contradictory and therefore they were void ; empirical objects are void because they are conditioned by other things and are not self-existent. The Absolute also is void in the sense that it cannot be described by empirical predicates. But the *śūnyatā* of the Buddhist schools is something positive, as it is described by ancient Buddhist teachers, like Haribhadra, as *bodhicitta* or the supreme knowledge, which is *karuṇagarbha*, or has mercy as its inner capacity. Professor Dumont of Baltimore presented three notes on the text of the third Kāṇḍa of the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*. In one of these notes, he discussed the exact sense of the verb *adhi + eti*. In the second note, Dumont pointed out that the words *iluvarda* and *balivarda*, occurring in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, could not have been original Sanskrit words, as no satisfactory etymology of these can be offered. He, therefore, suggested that they were the prakritisations of the Sanskrit words, *rtuvarta* and *parivarta* respectively. In his third note, he discussed the form *asqu*. Among other papers read and discussed in the section, mention must be especially made of de Vreese's paper on Kalhana and the Purāṇic tradition about Kashmir; Meile's paper on certain similarities between the Dravidian and the Altaic languages; Bareau's paper on Śāriputra's Abhidharma; Eliade's paper on the Symbolical Significance of Buddha's seven Steps; and Sinha's paper on the Bearing of Numismatics on the History of the Later Imperial Guptas. Some papers were submitted jointly to the sections of Indology, Greater Indian Studies, and Sinology. From among these may be mentioned: Background of the Prohibition of taking Life in the Tang Dynasty, by Hulsewe; Sino-Tibeto-Burmese Linguistics, by Durr; Chronology of the Ajanta Monuments, and

Indian Motifs in the Khmer Art, by Stern; and Agastya, the Hero of Hindu Expansion in the Far East, by Levy.

Besides the reading and discussion of research-papers, the Indology section considered some problems of a more general interest. R. Schwab, for instance, initiated a discussion about how the higher scientific philological work of the Indologists may be coordinated with popular interest in humanities in general. Gaudefroy-Demombynes proposed a scheme for restarting the work of Oriental Bibliography on new lines. Professor Renou emphasised the importance of the proposed Encyclopaedia of Technical Terms in ancient Indian Thought and outlined the general principles underlying the work. Dr. Maryla Falk, who has taken a lead in this project, also spoke on the subject in great detail. The scheme envisages two stages in its completion. Important technical terms will be studied from the historical and philological points of view. The results of such a study of different terms made by different scholars will be published in a journal to be called *Samjñā-vyākaraṇa*, and to be managed by an Editorial Board consisting of Indian and Western Indologists. (A study of *Nāma* and *Rūpa* in Indian thought by Dr. Falk, published by the Calcutta University, would give one an idea of how the work is expected to be done). In the second stage, all these monographs or articles would be so coordinated as to produce a comprehensive and connected History of Ancient Indian Thought. The idea of such an encyclopaedia was first mooted at the Delhi Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress. It was forwarded to Western Indologists for comments and approval. The Indology section resolved that the scheme be now recommended to the All India Oriental Conference for implementation. There was also a discussion about the *Thesaurus Linguae Sanscritae*, which the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona proposes to undertake. On behalf of the scholars, who expect to be able to collaborate in this huge project, Renou explained the theoretical aspect of this work, while I spoke about its practical side. The St. Petersburg Dictionary, in seven volumes, is, even today, regarded as the authoritative dictionary of Sanskrit language. But

since Roth and Böhtlingk prepared that dictionary, quite a large number of Sanskrit texts, manuscripts, inscriptions etc. have been brought to light. In the light of all this new material, some essential revision of the St. Petersburg is called for. This is indeed an enormous task and will require many years of patient, thorough, and intelligent work. It will then meet the urgent need of Sanskritists all over the world. The Indology section, therefore, forwarded to the General Body of the Congress a resolution congratulating the Deccan College Research Institute for having decided to undertake the work at an early date. Resolutions were also forwarded from the section to the General Body relating to a revised linguistic and folklore survey of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon; the urgent necessity of publishing the remaining part of Geldner's German translation of the *Rgveda*; the Vedic lexicographical work being carried on by Vishva Bandhu Sastri; and the Sinhalese etymological dictionary.

The concluding general session of the International Congress was held at 2-30 p. m. on Saturday, the 31st of July. As many as twenty-one resolutions—some forwarded by the different sections of the Congress and others proposed by the consultative committee—were passed at this open session. A reference has already been made to some of the resolutions forwarded by the Indology section. Among the other resolutions passed, the following deserve to be specially mentioned: (1) It was recommended to all the peoples of the world that, from the school stage onwards, some knowledge of Indian, Chinese, and Islamic cultures should be included in the curriculum, since these cultures embraced over one half of the human race. (2) The Congress suggested that ways and means should be found to prevent police restrictions or political ideologies from interfering with academic research work. (3) The Congress expressed appreciation for the Encyclopaedia of Islam, and the great Dictionary of the Iranian language. (4) It was decided to postpone the consideration of a proposal to form a Union of Orientalists to collaborate in the work of the UNESCO. Similar Unions of scientists have already been formed. It was suggested that, in the mean while, a scheme for a Union of Orientalists should be forwarded to prominent and well-established

shed Oriental Institutes of the world and their opinions in the matter sought.

Official invitations to the International Congress for its next session were received from four countries, namely, Sweden, Egypt, Turkey and India. In the consultative committee, MM. Dr. Kane ably conveyed India's invitation. India is a country where many very old Oriental Societies are functioning. Barring the Oriental Society of Batavia, which was founded by the Dutch in 1778, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in 1784, is the oldest institution of its kind. The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1804. In recent years also, many institutes of Oriental Research have been started and are doing really good work. The invitation from India therefore, means an invitation from all these Oriental Institutes. Moreover, in India, there already exists the All India Oriental Conference, which is a regularly-functioning well-organised central body of Indian Orientalists. This organisation may very well cooperate with the International Congress, and a joint session of the two bodies would indeed prove mutually beneficial. It is further desirable that a session of the International Congress should now be held in Asia. India is practically the centre of Asia. Through her Austro-speaking and Sino-Tibetan-speaking population, she is culturally linked up with Indo-China, Indonesia and beyond, as also with Tibet, China, Korea, Mongolia, and Japan. And through her Islamic population, she has close cultural ties with the Islamic world. India is thus culturally connected both with the Near East and the Far East. From the practical point of view also, India, among all Asiatic countries, is most easy of access to people both of Asia and Europe. With her newly acquired independence, India would assure modest but very cordial welcome and hospitality to scholars who are devoting their life-time for the proper understanding and evaluation of her ancient heritage, as well as of the cultures of her neighbours. The consultative committee, however, on considering all the four invitations, recommended to the Congress, and the General Body of the Congress accepted their recommendation, that the next, that is, the twenty-second session should be held at Istanbul in Turkey some time in 1951.

* During the session of the Congress, I had the privilege of meeting and making personal acquaintance of several Indologists of repute. I had already known some of them through correspondence, while others I came across for the first time. I was very happy to find that the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and its work - particularly the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* - are universally held in high esteem. My close association with the Institute and the Critical Edition, which, I realised, was perhaps my only qualification, was, therefore, the best introduction to any gathering of Orientalists. While outlining the work of the section of Indology, I have already referred to many Indologists. In addition to these scholars, I tried to establish fruitful contacts, personally as well as institutionally, with several others. From among the British Indologists, I met at Paris, besides Turner, Master (Indian Linguistics, Dravidian Languages) and Rylands (Sanskrit classics) of the London School of Oriental Studies, and Bailey (Sanskrit, Indo-Scythian Studies) of the Cambridge University. Similarly I met Bosch (Greater Indian Studies), van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (Indo-Iranian), and Pott (Greater Indian Archaeology, Tantric studies) from Holland; Duda (Semitic studies), Editor of the WZKM, from Austria; Regamey (Buddhist Philosophy and Art, Sinology) from Switzerland; Maryla Falk (Indian Philosophy) now in Italy; Kurat (History) from Turkey; Lingat (Comparative Law) from Indo-China; Prince Dhani Nivat (Siamese cultural History) and Luang Boribal Buribhand (Siamese Archaeology) from Siam. From among our French hosts, I came in particularly close contact with Bloch (Indian Linguistics), Lacombe (Indian Philosophy), Meile (Modern Indian Languages: Hindi and Tamil), Filliozat (Sanskrit Manuscripts, Indian Medicine), and Renou (Sanskrit). Owing to our common interest in Vedic Philology, Renou and myself became quite friendly. As a matter of fact, I may even go to the extent of saying that I regard my newly-developed friendship with Renou as one of the very special advantages accruing from my recent trip to Europe. At the International Congress of Linguists held at Paris, and the International Congress of Philosophy held at Amsterdam, some sittings of which I had the good fortune to

attend, I met some more scholars with whom also I have been able to establish useful contacts.

After the Congress was over, I decided to utilise the little time that was at my disposal in visiting some other centres of Indological studies in Europe. Accordingly I went to London and Oxford in England, and to Leiden and Amsterdam in Holland. I was very anxious to visit Germany and renew my old acquaintances among the Indologists in that country but, owing to the many restrictions on the journey to and within Germany, which are in force at present, in that country, I could not go to Germany. In London, I visited three institutions which are well-known in Indological circles: the British Museum, the London School of Oriental Studies, and the Library of the Commonwealth Ministry (formerly the India Office Library). Most of the workers of the London School of Oriental Studies I had met at Paris. In London, Rylands, who had been to India some years ago and with whom I had already become acquainted at that time, kindly showed me round the excellent library of the London University. At the British Museum, I had the privilege of meeting Dr. L. D. Barnett, who, with Professor F. W. Thomas, is now the doyen of British Indologists. Barnett's work in the field of Indian philosophy, linguistics, and history is too well-known to need any special mention. Many eminent Indian Indologists, including Chatterji, De, and Katre, had, I believe, the advantage of Barnett's guidance and training when they worked at the London School. Personally I may be said to have become acquainted with Barnett long ago, when, in my study of the *Bhagavadgītā*, I was inclined to agree with his suggestion that the so-called inconsistencies in the poem were to be explained away on the assumption of the confused and not-precise philosophical terminology adopted in it. It was indeed an inspiring sight to see the old scholar still working regularly and hard in the Indian section of the British Museum. He was then busy with properly cataloguing Indian, particularly Bengali, publications received at the Museum. We talked, at some length, about men and work in Indology in India, and when I left him, I felt that I was taking with me some new ideas regarding future Indological research in Europe and India. Dr. H. N. Randle, who was a

Professor of Philosophy at the Allahabad University, has been in charge of the India Office Library for quite a long time. It must be said that, under Randle's courteous and helpful direction, the Library is becoming increasingly useful. I saw him at the Library and discussed with him how closer cooperation between that Library and the Bhandarkar Institute, particularly in the matter of the loaning out of manuscripts, can be brought about. The future of that library, in the new political set-up, is uncertain; but it is to be earnestly hoped that this precious collection of books and manuscripts will be maintained intact and made accessible to a larger number of scholars. From London I went over to Oxford, and met Professor Thomas Burrow, who is the Professor of Sanskrit at the University. Burrow is at present mainly occupying himself with the study of Dravidian loan-words in Sanskrit, and is presenting the results of his investigations through a series of articles called *Dravidian Studies*. He very kindly showed me round the India Institute of the University. There exists, in Great Britain, a fund called the '*Mahābhārata Fund*'. The Professors of Sanskrit at Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh are the trustees of that Fund. The Bhandarkar Institute has already received a substantial subvention from that Fund to meet the expenses of the printing of the *Udyogaparvan* in the Critical Edition. We are now in need of a further subvention from that Fund for the future Volumes of the Critical Edition. While in Paris, I had already spoken about it to Professor Bailey of the Cambridge University. I also spoke about it to Professor Burrow at Oxford. Both these trustees of the *Mahābhārata Fund* have kindly agreed to consider with favour our appeal for subvention. There is at present no third trustee, as no appointment of Professor of Sanskrit is made at Edinburgh. But, according to a recent order passed by the Court, the present two trustees are entitled to operate the Fund.

From England, I proceeded to Holland. The Kern Institute of Leiden in Holland has been doing very great service indeed to the cause of Orientalism in general and Indology in particular. The guiding spirit of that Institute is Professor Vogel. A former officer in the Archaeological Survey

of India, Vogel has been responsible for building up a remarkable Institute for Oriental research. He is mainly interested in Indian art and archaeology, and his books on the subject are regarded as quite authoritative. The Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Archaeology, which is being published by the Kern Institute, owes its origin to Professor Vogel. I met him at Leiden and had a long talk with him on several matters relating to Indology. At this advanced age, he is studying certain problems relating to ancient Indian geography. Dr. Pott, the Curator of the Kern Institute, took me round the Institute, as well as the famous Ethnological Museum of Leiden. The Museum contains many interesting and instructive exhibits relating to Indian and Greater Indian art, archaeology and ethnology. I had talks with Vogel and Pott about the cooperation which the Bhandarkar Institute is at present giving them in the preparation of the Annual Bibliography, as well as about the possibility of exchange of Dutch and Indian research-publications. In Holland, I observed that students still take considerable interest in Indological and allied studies and the faculties of these subjects at the Universities of Leiden, Utrecht, and Groningen are doing some really good work.

It must, however, be said that compared to the work formerly done in Europe, in the field of Indology and allied branches of learning, the work done there at present is definitely smaller in extent. The causes for this are, of course, not far to seek. To begin with, the interest in humanities in general, as against natural sciences, is dwindling in Europe as elsewhere. It is, therefore, no wonder that interest in a specialised—and now less vital—branch, like Indology, is rapidly diminishing. Again quite considerable work in the field of Indology has already been done by European scholars. Almost every single aspect of the subject is tackled and deeply studied by the last two or three generations of Western Indologists. The tendency of the present-day Orientalists is therefore towards finding out new and hitherto unexplored fields for research. Moreover European Orientalists have realised that Indian Indologists themselves have now come forward and

are doing competent work in the subject. The present tendency to give greater prominence to archaeological excavations than to a mere study of literary work must also have been to some extent responsible in this connection. For, archaeological investigations do not become possible except in rare cases. There was a time when in Europe, Orientalism and Indology were more or less synonymous terms. Oriental research almost meant research in the languages, literature, and culture of India. Conditions have now changed. The generations of giants like Weber, Roth, Oldenberg, Jacobi, Bergaigne, Sylvain Levi, Macdonald, Whitney, Bloomfield and others have long since passed. Orientalists in the West are now exploring, and quite rightly too, new fields of research. They are devoting themselves to the study of Semitic languages and cultures, Assyriology, Hittite problems, Sinology, etc. In Indology itself, they are now turning to subjects which have hitherto received comparatively less attention, such as, Dravidian philology, Greater Indian studies, Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism, Modern Indian dialects, non-Aryan elements in Indian culture etc. It is necessary to add that all this is a comparative estimate — and that too on very broad lines. It is also necessary to add that whatever contributions are being made to Indology by Western scholars, at present, are characterised by the same old thoroughness, originality and restraint. We have indeed to be grateful to them for this service. We can still learn from them quite a lot, particularly in the matter of the proper approach to a subject and scientific methodology. Indian researchers in the field of Indology are often charged with being too much inclined towards speculating, towards building up whole theories on the basis of very flimsy and inconclusive evidence. They are also charged with being in the habit of always expressing themselves in superlatives. Our growing contacts with European scholars, on occasions like the sessions of the International Congress of Orientalists, will certainly enable us to coordinate, in our research, their methods with our insight.

[Many persons have helped me, in different ways, to make my recent trip to and stay in Europe pleasant, and — may I add ? —

fruitful. The delegates of the Government of India - Radhakrishnan, Kane and Chatterji - have indeed been very helpful. As a matter of fact, Kane and Chatterji were truly my friends, philosophers, and guides. Professor Renou's hospitality in France will remain an unforgettable experience. I have received from everybody, whom I met, nothing but courtesy and kindness. To the Government of Bombay, the All-India Oriental Conference, and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, who appointed me to represent them at the Paris session - and more particularly to the Government of Bombay, who made my trip at all possible - I express my deep gratitude. The only way in which I can hope to requite their obligations, in some small measure, is by dedicating myself more devotedly to the study of Indology, and by being useful, in every possible manner, to other students of this subject].

